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THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Top union leader rips aid to Salvador junta

IAM president's stand boosts antidraft fight



January demonstration in Austin, Texas, reflects mounting opposition to U.S. role in El Salvador. See editorial, page 2, and statement by Machinists' president William Winpisinger, page 7.

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Militant/Eli Finer

Antidraft movement gaining support

The struggle against the draft has scored important gains. And it is winning the support of powerful forces, particularly in the unions. The antidraft conference being held in Detroit the weekend of February 13 should mark another step forward.

The Carter administration's imposition of draft registration was a fiasco. As soon as Carter announced his plans, a movement of opposition sprang up across the country.

In addition to the many who registered under protest, hundreds of thousands refused. Opposition to registration has been so widespread that the government has been unable thus far to take any action against those who did not register.

The attempt to whip up war hysteria against Iran failed also. Washington had to settle the hostage situation peacefully.

Now the antidraft movement faces a new challenge and a new opportunity: opposition to Washington's stepped-up military intervention in El Salvador. Outrage at the U.S. government's support to a blood-drenched junta, responsible for more than 14,000 murders, is attracting new forces to the fight against war and the draft.

Growing opposition to U.S. policy among working people is reflected by union leaders who have called for ending U.S. support to the junta. Their actions are in defiance of AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland's support to U.S. policy in El Salvador.

In a January 26 statement, William Winpisinger, president of the 950,000-member International Association of Machinists, called for ending U.S. aid to the junta, blasting its violations of human rights.

This is an extension of Winpisinger's opposition to the draft and draft registration, which was a feature of his report to the IAM convention last September. The IAM also provided office space and other assistance to organizers of the antidraft demonstration of 25,000 last March 22.

The IAM is far from alone in its stand.

On December 22 the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, representing dockworkers on the West Coast, announced a boycott of all military cargo to El Salvador.

Russell Gibbons, editor of *Steelabor*, the newspaper of the United Steelworkers of

America, and a number of other labor figures signed a February 3 advertisement in the *New York Times* urging an end to military aid to the junta.

Officials of the United Auto Workers and IAM are scheduled to address the Detroit antidraft conference. The more than 20 million union members in the United States represent the most powerful source of support for the struggle against registration and the draft.

Catholic and Protestant religious groups that have been speaking out against U.S. policy in El Salvador are also a valuable component of the movement.

The arms Reagan is pouring into El Salvador in an effort to save a hated and discredited government are a reminder of why Washington is still pressing toward the draft. The rulers of this country want to be able to use another generation of young people as cannon fodder in Central America, if arms shipments prove insufficient to crush a popular revolt.

The antidraft movement has an appropriate response:

"No draft! No war! No U.S. intervention in El Salvador!"

'Justice' in Miami

When Black people fall victim to racist violence, it's business as usual as far as the authorities are concerned. But when whites die and there's any possible way to hang it on Blacks, prosecutors proceed with deadly vigor.

The recent convictions of four Black youth in the deaths of the several whites during Miami's Black rebellion last spring are a case in point.

That rebellion was touched off when an all-white jury exonerated the cops who had murdered Arthur McDuffie, a Black business executive.

A massive force of police was sent into Liberty City, Miami's principal Black community, to crush the outburst of rage that followed the acquittal of the cops. According to official count, eighteen people died. Of these, four were white. The remainder were Blacks, killed by cops or white vigilante snipers.

So far, not one person has been arrested in the killings of the Blacks.

But four Black youth have already been convicted in the deaths of the four whites and three more face trial in the same deaths.

On February 6, three young men were found guilty in the death of three of the whites. According to police, they were among a crowd

that dragged the whites from their car and beat them to death.

Samuel Lightsey was convicted of second degree murder and faces life. Leonard Capers and his brother Lawrence were convicted of third-degree murder and face fifteen-year terms.

The principal witness against them admitted that while she "might have said" previously that she had seen one of the Capers brothers beating the whites she couldn't actually testify to it. On the basis of what she assertedly saw from her apartment balcony, she could only testify they "were in the crowd."

Under police "interrogation," a fourth defendant, Patrick Moore, said he had stood over one of the victims with a gun and fired at him "point-blank" three or four times.

The only problem was that no bullet wounds were found on any of the victims. Moore was acquitted.

Last October, James McCollough was convicted in the death of the fourth white and sentenced to fifteen years.

The state's principal witness against McCollough is legally blind.

She says she "can see pretty good in the daytime, but at night not at all." The incident happened in late afternoon.

Two more Black youth, Sam Williams and Lonnie Bradley, still face trial, as does Nathaniel Lane, eighteen. Authorities will try to get the death penalty in his case.

These vengeful racist prosecutions have a particularly ominous character in that they come at a moment of rising violence against Blacks. Fifteen Black children have been murdered in Atlanta, and police say they are without a clue. In the Buffalo area, eight Blacks have been murdered. Again, not one arrest.

There is a growing demand among Black people for a halt to the racist killings. This was manifest during the demonstration of 100,000 in Washington on Martin Luther King Day.

A number of unions have taken their stand in support of antiracist protests. But more is needed. The full weight of organized labor is essential.

Most immediately, it should be demanded of Miami authorities that Black youth already convicted be exonerated. The pending trials should be dropped.

Prosecute the racist instigators of violence, not their victims.

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Second Congress of Cuban Communist Party

This gathering, long awaited in Cuba, reaffirmed support to revolutionary struggles in Central America, the Caribbean, and Africa. The Cuban leaders summed up two years of deepening working-class consciousness and struggle in Cuba itself, and discussed how to continue deepening the revolution. **Pages 14-19.**

The Militant

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650 at NY rally for SWP suit

By Nelson Blackstock

NEW YORK—More than 650 supporters of the socialist suit against government spying and harassment attended a rally here February 7. They came from as far as Virginia, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania.

Featured speaker at the rally was Andrew Pulley, 1980 Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the United States.

Also speaking were Lucius Walker, executive director of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organizing (IFCO) and a leader of the National Anti-Klan Network; Constance Gilbert Neiss, assistant coordinator for action of the National Organization for Women in New Jersey; and Alison Beckley, one of fifteen Lockheed workers fired for their union activity and political views.

Chairing the rally was Wells Todd, who announced his candidacy for mayor of New York on the SWP ticket. Todd is a member of United Auto Workers Local 664 at the General Motors plant in Tarrytown, New York.

Todd was introduced by Susan Wald, one of several Brooklyn Navy Yard workers who won their jobs back after being fired because of their political views. Wald announced that she is the SWP candidate for City Council.

The rally heard greetings sent by David Cortright, director of SANE and a coordinator of the First National Antidraft Conference; Phil Wheaton, director of the Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action; Mary Alice Theiler, president of the National Lawyers Guild; Jim



Andrew Pulley explained how socialist suit fits into political context of working-class answer to rulers' assault on rights and standard of living.

go to trial March 16. The rally here is part of a series of events to win support. Socialists are explaining how the suit fits into the context of world politics and the struggles of the American working class today.

Andrew Pulley opened by noting "the potential for building support for the common fight against the government's undemocratic policies."

Pulley pointed to the recent endorsement of Douglas Fraser, president of the UAW, as one indication of a changing political climate.

"At the coming trial," Pulley said, "our eyes will be on the most important jury of all—the American and world working class."

"We want to undress the U.S. ruling class and its government before the eyes of the American people. We want them to know what most of the world knows all too well: that Washington is the main promoter of terror, murder, and barbarism in the world today."

The SWP leader noted that Alexander Haig, the new secretary of state, said that the policy of the Reagan Administration will be to "combat terrorism"—as opposed to "promoting human rights," as Carter claimed to do.

"In other words, he'll simply talk about combating terrorism as he arms those who are terrorizing the masses of people," Pulley said.

"As for Carter's human rights, ask the people of El Salvador. Or the relatives of the murdered American nuns."

Reagan's policy at home is consistent with his policy abroad, Pulley explained.

Referring to Reagan's recent economic address, Pulley said, "Isn't it strange how they speak in such language: 'balanced budget,' 'solvency.'"

"Is this really what the working class is concerned about? Is this really what the unemployed auto workers are worried about? Whether the govern-

ment will have a balanced budget?

"Aren't they worried about whether they will have a job?"

"Most workers have never seen a balanced personal budget anyway! We are all debt slaves. We never get caught up. We never have and never will under the present set-up."

Strip away confusion

"One of the things we'll do in the course of this trial—and in the pages of the *Militant* and on the job—is break down and blow away all of this obfuscation and confusion promoted by the language of the capitalist politicians and media."

"Working people are not fools," Pulley said. "They sense that Reagan is serving only the interest of the nation's billionaires. They see the removal of limits on domestic oil prices as a bonanza for the oil czars and a terrible burden for themselves. They suspect only the rich will benefit from the tax cut—not working people. That big merchants will profit from the gigantic war budget. And the whole ruling class will gain from the draft and a war to protect their 'right' to exploit humanity."

Pulley pointed to the lack of opposition in Congress to Reagan's objectives. "Bipartisan support has been achieved for all of his appointees, including the Watergate crook Haig. Democrats and Republicans are united on the need to sock it to the working class," he said.

"To do this they must violate and undermine our democratic rights."

Pulley linked this to the acquittal of KKK murderers in North Carolina, the recent acquittals of cops who kill Blacks and Latinos, and the murders of Black children in Atlanta, and Black men in Buffalo.

"Firing union militants, shooting into, vandalizing, and burglarizing the offices of the SWP and NAACP are all

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'We will not let gov't run over us'

Following are excerpts from messages of support to the New York rally for the socialist lawsuit.

Lucius Walker IFCO, Anti-Klan Network

I come tonight to add my small but enthusiastic support to the SWP suit, which is a suit, in our judgment, in defense of not simply the SWP but in defense of the Bill of Rights, the constitutional rights of



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

LUCIUS WALKER

all of us in this room, and of persons in the American society, be they socialist or even capitalists, or people of other persuasions.

For what the SWP in this suit fights against is government misconduct: the invasion of the rights, under the existing constitution of the United States of America, of citizens and individuals to freely associate and express political opinions and thoughts without government harassment.

To some that may not seem like a particularly important fight to fight. But I am appreciative that the SWP sees this as an important fight to fight, and has invested time and energy and resources to give leadership in this fight on behalf of all of us.

And this suit is an illustration of the creative use of the law to fight back, to say hell no we will not lie down and let this government run us over.

David Cortright Director of SANE Coordinator of the first National Antidraft Conference

Despite efforts by the FBI to disrupt your party and the movement against the war in Vietnam as a whole, the American people mobilized and stopped that war. The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance played an important role in the education and mobilization of that movement.

Your suit against the government's secret police has made us all more aware of the tricks the government will use to stop the American people from becoming informed and organized.

This trial is an inspiration and an education for the new movement now developing against the government's current war drive, the antidraft movement. It will

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\$34,258 raised

An important feature of the East Coast rally was the enthusiastic response to an appeal by Wells Todd for contributions to the \$75,000 Socialist Fund.

A total of \$34,258 was pledged to the fund, in donations ranging from \$1 to \$2,000. This will go a long way toward helping explain what socialists stand for as the trial of the U.S. government for spying approaches.

An additional highlight of the weekend was an educational conference, featuring classes on Farrell Dobb's new book, *Revolutionary Continuity*, and on working-class defense strategy.

Haughton, director of Harlem Fight Back; and author Alix Kates Shulman. (See accompanying feature for excerpts from some of the messages.)

The rally was held at the Ethical Culture Society. Algernon Black opened the meeting, saying, "I have welcomed many groups here over the years but none have I been happier to welcome than yourselves." Black recalled his work on behalf of the labor movement in the 1930s.

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit is set to

Read the ideas they're out to suppress

In a courtroom in New York City one of the most important trials of the 1980s will open on March 16. To be fought out will be the right of American workers to hold socialist ideas and to put those ideas into practice.

Unfortunately, they're not going to let you watch it on live television. But you can read about it in the *Militant*. Subscribe now.

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Calls for a labor party

Black auto worker challenges Koch in NY race

By Barbara Mutnick

NEW YORK—Wells Todd, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of New York, chaired the February 7 rally against government spying.

A thirty-four-year old Black assembly-line worker at General Motors' Tarrytown, New York, plant, Todd was born in the Bronx. He is an Army veteran and has worked in the garment industry and as a hospital worker in New York.

Now active in United Auto Workers Local 664, Todd helped get a resolution passed in that union to prevent the closing of Harlem's Sydenham Hospital.

Todd was nominated by a New York SWP membership meeting the weekend of February 1. The party also named six other candidates: Susan Wald, a pipefitter at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, for president of the city council; Raúl Gonzalez, a New York City transit worker, for comptroller; and Ken Milner, a Black mechanic at Exxon's Linden, New Jersey, petrochemical plant, for Manhattan borough president.

Nominated for city council were Ray Markey, a librarian and longtime leader of local 1930 of the New York Public Library Guild; Diane Wang, a Chinese-American garment worker; and Miriam McCray, a Black garment worker and leader of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Todd is challenging incumbent mayor Edward Koch.

Elected as a Democrat in 1977, Koch



SWP mayoral candidate Wells Todd

may well be the candidate of both major capitalist parties this time around. The banks and other big financial institutions like Koch, as much for his brazen, unapologetic style in making cuts as for the cuts themselves.

Not long before Koch was elected, Big MAC, the Municipal Assistance Corporation, was formed. It is this unelected body of bankers and business magnates that has final say over New York City budgets.

Koch's (and Big MAC's) proposed 1982 budget includes a surplus. Presenting this budget, Koch gloated: "New York City's a better place now

than it was a few years ago—a better place in which to work, to raise a family, to visit, and to spend leisure time. If we continue to do what is necessary, and much of that will still be difficult, New York City, which is already the best of places, will be better still."

"A 'better place' for whom?" asked Todd. "Not for the more than 50,000 city workers laid off since 1975—and Koch promises plenty more to join those ranks. Not for Black New Yorkers who have twenty-nine fewer hospitals in their communities."

"Not for the three Blacks and one Hispanic who were stabbed to death on the streets by white racists in December; or for the dozens of Blacks and Hispanics, like young Donald Wright, who are gunned down by New York City cops."

"Not for the parents of these victims, whose cries for justice Koch answers with a call to reinstitute the death penalty for 'cop killers.'"

"Not for the millions of transit riders packed into fewer, dirtier, more dilapidated buses and subways."

"And certainly New York City is not 'a better place . . . in which to raise a family' for the tens of thousands faced with no heat who, under Koch's administration, had little recourse but to shiver, get sick, even freeze to death during the record cold spells this winter."

"Koch has made New York a 'better place' for the minority who have millions to invest in tax-free municipal

bonds. But for most New Yorkers, Koch's offensive has been a series of cruel blows."

The end result, Todd said, "is not a city 'better than it was a few years ago' but a city where, if you don't live on Fifth Avenue and travel in a chauffeur-driven limousine, the quality of life has plummeted. Koch's reelection campaign is arrogantly offering more of the same for workers in this city."

Central to Todd's campaign will be his proposal that the city unions counter Koch's attack by forming a party of their own, a labor party.

"A single union could get the ball rolling, inspiring the labor movement and Black and Hispanic communities throughout the city with new hope for fighting back," said Todd at a recent meeting in New York.

Todd attended the founding conference of the National Black Independent Political Party last November. He also points to that development as a concrete example of the sort of political action all working people need to take—action independent of the parties of the ruling rich.

Other demands of Todd's mayoral campaign are: money for jobs and social services, not war; open up Sydenham Hospital and nationalize Con Edison to put a halt to profit gouging; shut down all nuclear power plants; for the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion rights; and halt government interest payments to the banks and corporations.

... rally

Continued from page 3

part of this antidemocratic drive that the ruling rich is on," he said.

Media lies

One element of the ruling class offensive is the news media's greater tendency to distort or fail to report significant political developments, Pulley said. Examples include slanted reporting of events in El Salvador; downplaying the biggest Black rights march since 1963, the 100,000 in Washington January 15 who demanded a holiday for Martin Luther King's birthday; virtually ignoring the National Black Independent Political Party; and not reporting the government's proclamation of its right to spy on anyone (in a document submitted as part of pretrial preparation for the socialist suit).

Pulley contrasted this to the "orgy of coverage of the returning hostages."

"However, far from whipping up patriotism, the media made many people sick," Pulley said. "The 'Vietnam syndrome' continues. People who turned out to greet the hostages were for the most part just glad to see them back alive and not in coffins—like the soldiers killed in the helicopter raid on Iran."

"The polls show public support for honoring the terms of the agreement with the Iranians. Working people are in no mood for war."

"Sympathy for the workers and farmers of El Salvador is growing. There are meetings every week, all over this country—teach-ins, rallies, and marches."

An important example, Pulley said, is the refusal of the West Coast dock workers, members of the International Longshore Workers Union, to load arms for El Salvador.

"You're not hearing much about this in the news, either," Pulley said. "Any more than you're hearing much about the demonstration against nuclear power, for jobs, and in support of the

coal miners set for Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on March 28.

"They are afraid that word of these things might get around—that it might catch on."

Pulley explained that the socialist suit should be seen in the context of these developments and others, such as the miners contract fight, this spring.

Many workers sense some sort of coming disaster, he said. They are looking for answers. The trial this spring will be a forum from which to reach workers with socialist answers.

Who we are

"We are going to proudly state who and what we are: advocates and participants in the new Black political party. Promoters of the labor party discussion in the unions. Advocates of unilateral nuclear disarmament and shutting down all nuclear power plants. Champions of the fight for the Equal Rights Amendment and the right to abortion. Activists in the fight against the KKK, Nazis, and killer cops. Opponents of imperialist militarism and the draft."

"And we'll state our solidarity with the oppressed masses of South Africa, with the Palestinians, with the revolutionaries in the Caribbean and Central America."

"Finally," Pulley concluded, "with boundless pride and great conviction, we'll proclaim our agreement with Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, and Fidel. And our unending support and political solidarity with the Fourth International."

"Yes, we'll state all of this before the court. We'll explain again that capitalism blocks the advance of human society and condemns it to war, poverty, and famine."

"We'll say that workers and farmers the world over have the potential to save humanity by taking power into their own hands. And the key place to do this is right here in the United States."

... messages

Continued from page 3

usner in a new period of political freedom.

I wish you all success and invite all in attendance at this rally tonight to attend the first conference of the antidraft movement next weekend in Detroit.

Connie Gilbert-Neiss NOW-New Jersey Assistant Coordinator For Action

The FBI interference into the women's liberation movement has been very well documented, in part through the discovery process for the Socialist Workers Party suit.

The parallels between the women's liberation movement and the Socialist Workers Party are all too clear.

The Socialist Workers Party, in bringing this suit, may make the world a safer place for all of the social change we are working so hard to achieve.

Their courage astonishes me and I wish them all of the best for this, for fighting a battle for all of us.

Mary Alice Theller President, National Lawyers Guild

The Socialist Workers Party has been a pioneer in exposing the government's surveillance and harassment of those that try to exercise their basic democratic rights.

In both the SWP case and the case of the National Lawyers Guild, the efforts of so-called law enforcement agencies have turned up no evidence of illegal activities by the groups that the government targeted.

On the contrary, they reveal that the government has spied on and disrupted our organizations because of our objectives.

We commend the Socialist Workers Party for its efforts to not only stop these attacks, but also to expose to as many people as possible these illegal attempts to deny people their basic rights to organize.



'Positively un-American . . . they play by the rules.'

Government fails in bid to kill socialist suit

By Nelson Blackstock

NEW YORK—February 6 was the day the government was set to drop the big one. It was a dud.

After more than seven years of government stalling, lying, and delaying, the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against secret police harassment is about to go to trial.

Now, usually once a week, a hearing takes place in Judge Thomas Griesa's courtroom in the federal courthouse on Foley Square in Lower Manhattan.

The hearings are supposed to prepare for the March 16 opening of the trial. But the government has continued its foot-dragging, causing Judge Griesa to become at times very impatient.

Even before the hearing started, it was apparent the government was up to something. Not only were there more than the average number of lawyers and helpers milling around, but the spectators' section was filling up. The word was out at the U.S. Attorney's Office that something big was brewing, and they had come to watch.

Ordinarily the government is represented by Edward Williams, an assistant U.S. attorney for this district. But that day John Martin, the U.S. attorney himself, was there.

As the courtroom waited for the judge to arrive, young men clad in the required three-piece suits marched in carrying stacks of thick, black, spiral notebooks.

As the hearing opened, Martin stood and said, "I did want to advise your honor of one thing: that we have prepared and are ready to file today—in fact we just got it a couple of minutes ago—a motion to dismiss on the question of limitations."

The government was asking the judge to throw the case out of court.

Martin drones in a sing-song, upper-crust Eastern accent. A high-priced, ruling class lawyer, he's doing what they pay him to do—defend the government's dirty work. Interestingly, before becoming U.S. attorney, he was, in private practice, a lawyer for burglars—FBI burglars.

Named as defendants in the socialist suit are two FBI agents whose job it was to break into SWP headquarters in the 1960s. Since it was all in the line of duty, the FBI paid for them to hire top legal help.

Before Martin could finish, Judge Griesa shut him off.

Visibly angered, the judge would have none of it. "I am not going to entertain a motion at this point under any circumstances," he told the U.S. attorney.

Judge Griesa said he had already rejected such a motion in 1978. That motion he termed a "slick piece of work which simply gave all the work to the Court."

The issues raised by the motion, he said, can be taken up in the trial.

Socialists knew all along

Lawyers argue the fine points of law. The layperson usually can't tell what they're talking about. That's the way it's supposed to be. But when you strip away all the legalese, you often find an argument with much less sophistication—not to mention common sense—than you'll find in an average barroom dispute.

What the government is saying is not that they haven't spied on the SWP; not that they haven't hired finks and stool pigeons to pose as members; not that they haven't lied and stolen. What they are saying is that the socialists knew it all along, and therefore haven't got a legal leg to stand on.

The government is basing its motion on the statute of limitations. In civil damage suits such as this, there is normally a two-year period after the damages are incurred in which you can sue. Beyond that time, you lose your right to sue.

The hitch, however, is if you had no way of knowing what was done to you, then the statute of limitations does not begin to apply until you find out about it.

Even though evidence of FBI illegal acts didn't surface until the first secret files were produced in 1975, the government is saying that the socialists knew about it all along. Therefore, under the statute of limitations, they have no

right to sue for pre-1971 acts.

This argument does not even address the question of a court order barring such acts in the future. Judge Griesa pointed this out. Nor does it deal with illegal acts after the suit was filed.

The big notebooks the government brought in contained their proof that the socialists knew what the FBI was doing to them.

The proof in large part, says an accompanying 112-page brief, is that: "Issues of [the *Militant*] dating back at least to 1941 reflect knowledge, or at least serious suspicion, that the FBI was engaged in the types of activities encompassed by the 'Socialist Workers Party Disruption Program.'"

These *Militant* clippings do prove one thing. They prove the socialists were not fools. They did indeed know all along that the FBI was up to no good. In fact, Marxists have known since at least 1848 that ruling-class agencies like the FBI are capable of the most despicable acts.

As one clipping, an editorial from the July 19, 1941, *Militant*, put it:

"The spy-provocative agent method did not originate in 1939, however. It was used by the FBI in the notorious post-war Palmer raids. It goes back to Louis Napoleon and the Czar, who made ample use of it in all their frame-ups."

None of this proves what the FBI is contending in a legal sense—that socialists were aware of specific acts committed against them. They only became aware of these when they saw the files.

All the horrendous things documented in these secret files were, by definition, secret. It was all done undercover.

Often, it was impossible even to know that anything had been done to you. For example, one day your boss up and fires you. He doesn't say it's because the FBI paid him a visit. Maybe he doesn't even know himself that it was the FBI that sent an anonymous letter about you.

Likewise, there would be no way to know that the FBI broke into your offices, microfilmed your papers, and left, leaving everything apparently

untouched. But they did this at least ninety-two times.

Ridiculous argument

"The government's argument here is simply ridiculous," said Larry Seigle, SWP Political Committee member. "It's one thing to say that you know what the FBI is capable of. It's another to jump from there to saying that they can break any law anytime they want, with impunity, because you know they're liable to do it."

In their brief, the FBI raised another reason the judge should dismiss the case:

"Government agencies ranging from the FBI to the NSA [National Security Administration] will have to continue expending substantial resources to this case which could otherwise be devoted to the purposes for which these agencies were established."

In other words, they want the judge to make the socialists stop harassing the FBI!

This motion helps to explain recent government stalling. Their vain hope was that somehow this motion could eliminate or delay a trial.

"The government would like nothing better than for this case to go away," Seigle said. "They simply do not want to go through with this trial."

"The problem is it throws a monkey wrench into their whole strategy. Their line is that there is a 'new' FBI. Everything has been cleaned up. Sure, they did some bad things, but that's all in the past."

"They are forced to mount a defense of their actions. They outlined what that will be in their trial plan—which they wish they never had to come up with, because it's not their public line."

"In the trial plan they said, 'Yes, we spied on the SWP, got them fired from their jobs, etc. We have a right to do this to them and to anybody else we want to. And we intend to continue.'"

"When pushed to the wall, they are forced to come out with their real position. The alternative is for them to say that we have a right to advocate and put into practice Marxism in this country," Seigle continued.

"That's what we're demanding. That is now the heart of the case."

Thanks, FBI

Let's face it. There are times when you have to give credit where credit is due. As far as we can tell, the FBI has for the first time done something worthwhile.

In preparation for the upcoming trial, the *Militant* had planned to go through our back volumes and come up with examples of what we have said about the FBI in the past. It would be a good way, we thought, to put this trial into a broader context for our readers. But, frankly, we've been too busy to get around to it.

But now the FBI has come to the rescue. To support their claim that the socialists do not have a case because we knew all along they were up to no good, the FBI has gone through several decades of the *Militant* and reproduced articles that demonstrate what we thought about them.

This week, courtesy of the FBI, we bring our readers a selection from those articles.

This one is dated April 11, 1949. Written by former Socialist Workers Party National Secretary Farrell Dobbs, it has something timely to say about the FBI and about how socialists handle themselves in court.

Thanks, FBI.

—N.B.

FBI Stoolpigeon Testifies in C.P. Trial

By Farrell Dobbs

FROM THE FEDERAL COURTROOM, NEW YORK.

April 6 — Until he took the witness stand at 2:10 PM today, Herbert A. Philbrick, a 34-year-old Melrose, Mass., motion picture advertiser, had long posed as a loyal member of the Communist Party. His testimony revealed that for the past nine years he has operated as a police stoolpigeon inside the Stalinist movement.

As he recited his well-rehearsed lines, I was reminded of the cartoon about a burglar who included in his testimony, "— pause, take out handkerchief, and wipe your eyes." I was reminded too of a scene in the movie "The Informer," where a cop contemptuously pushed 20 silver coins across his desk to the traitor Gypo Nolan.

Then I recalled that only yesterday the House Appropriations Committee voted to give \$52 million to the FBI, whose director, J. Edgar Hoover, said he wants the money for a "comprehensive domestic intelligence coverage." In plain English, Hoover wants police spies like Philbrick to operate in political parties, unions, lodges, and every other forum where the American people gather to discuss their problems.

PHILBRICK'S RECORD

Philbrick testified that he first established relations with the Stalinists in 1940 while chairman of a Cambridge, Mass., youth council. In March 1942 he joined the Young Communist League, and in March 1944, the Communist Party. Since 1940 he has had continuous contact with the FBI.

He first wormed his way into

the post of literature director in his local group. After attending the 1945 convention of the New England CP, he was appointed to an educational commission and put in charge of leaflet production.

Copies of letters he received from CP officials regarding these matters were introduced in evidence. All bore marginal notations of FBI file numbers. That's as close as Hoover can come to fingerprinting literature.

Then the prosecutor got to the \$61 question, "What literature was on display at the New England convention?"

Like a child mechanically reciting a nursery rhyme, the police spy called attention to the absence of Browder's books and then reeled off a list of books by Lenin and Stalin. When prompted by the prosecutor, he added, "There were also books by Marx and Engels."

Sensational press accounts of such testimony are creating a false impression that the Stalinists are on trial for preparing an armed revolt. The facts are that nothing of the kind is charged in the indictment under the Smith Act.

THIS IS A THOUGHT-CONTROL TRIAL. The Stalinists are accused of teaching Marxism-Leninism. The aim of the trial is to outlaw the ideas of scientific socialism.

Marxism is doubly framed up because the Stalinists are betrayers — not teachers — of scientific socialism. They are political lepers who defile everything they touch.

Compare the conduct of the Stalinists with that of the Trotskyists convicted under the same Smith Act in 1941.

The Trotskyists gave a forthright explanation of genuine Marxism. We warned the workers that the war would bring untold economic hardship, it would lead to anti-union laws and vicious attacks on civil rights, and it would not bring peace to the world. We said then, and we repeat now, only socialism can offer peace, freedom and plenty to all mankind.

The Stalinists cheered the government's thought-control attack on the Trotskyists and clamored for this country to create a "second front" in Europe.

STALINIST DEFENSE

Events have transpired just as the Trotskyists predicted they would back in 1941, and the Stalinists are now bearing the main weight of the government's attack on civil rights. They have met the test by whining and crawling around the courtroom on their bellies.

The prosecutor questioned the Stalinist renegade Louis F. Budenz about Stalinist policy in the early 1930's, in the 1939-41 Stalin-Hitler pact period, and in the period since 1945. These were times of friction between Moscow and Washington.

The Stalinist lawyers cross-examined Budenz about their policy during the 1935-39 People's Front

period and the 1941-45 war period when Stalin and Roosevelt were on good terms.

They read passages from the program adopted by the 7th Congress of the Comintern in 1935 calling for "neither socialism, nor communism," but a "broad anti-fascist united front."

They quoted William Z. Foster to prove they want a political alliance with the capitalists, if they can get it. They just thought Browder went too far when he offered to shake hands with J. P. Morgan and extend the no-strike pledge into the post-war period, because Morgan won't "loyally support unity."

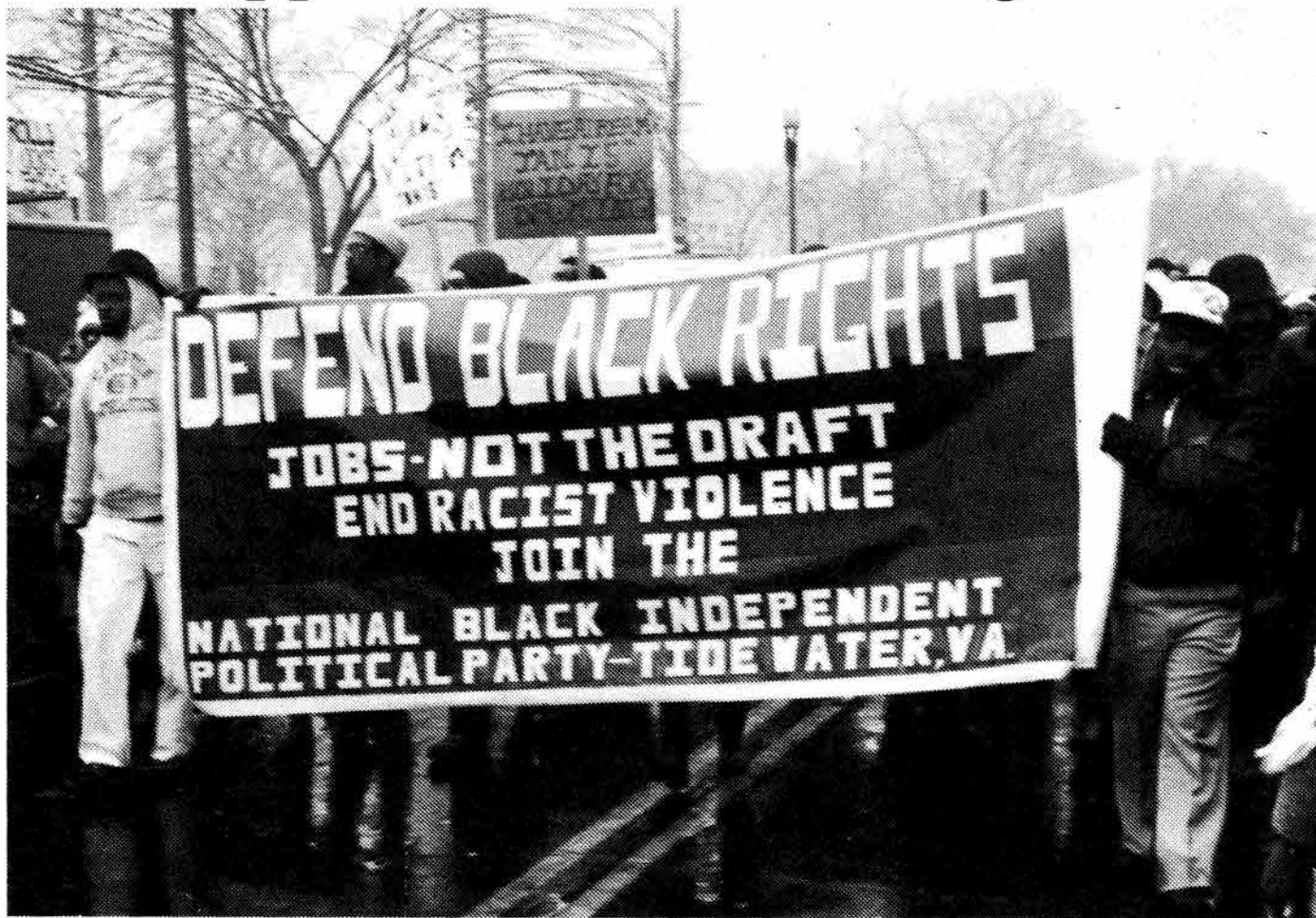
Then, like the frameup artists they are, the Stalinists asked Budenz if the American Workers Party to which he once belonged "advocated force and violence." He said it did. They next asked if he left the AWP to join the Communist Party when the AWP united with the Trotskyists in 1934. Budenz said, "Yes."

This dirty piece of business is clearly intended to falsely imply that the Trotskyists do "advocate force and violence," and all that's wrong with the trial is that the government is attacking the wrong party.

Despite their treachery and double-dealing at such terrible cost to the workers, the Stalinists must be defended against the present thought-control prosecution. If the government succeeds in outlawing the Communist Party, then no political party, no union, nor any other organization will be safe from attack if it should oppose the political party in power.

The Libertarian Party vs. the antidraft movement

Right-wing group backs big oil, opposes unions, civil rights



Antidraft movement must continue to solidarize with fight for Black rights. Libertarian Party opposes affirmative action, government-enforced busing, and government funding for jobs.

By Suzanne Haig

The National Antidraft Conference in Detroit, February 13-15, comes at a crucial time.

The Reagan administration, picking up where Carter left off, is stepping up shipments of U.S. arms and military "advisers" to help keep a brutal, unpopular dictatorship in power in El Salvador. There is growing danger of a new Vietnam in Central America.

And as might be expected, Reagan is hedging on his proclaimed opposition to draft registration.

The antidraft movement must respond by standing against U.S. military intervention around the world, and in particular against the escalating U.S. military intervention in El Salvador.

The conference will be faced with the challenge of deepening the involvement of unionists, Blacks, Latinos, and other working people and youth in the struggle. These are the people who will be victimized by the draft and by cutbacks in jobs and social services to finance the war budget. These are the people who will be assigned the role of cannon fodder in a new Vietnam.

The role of union leaders, activists in the solidarity movement with El Salvador and Nicaragua, and Black youth in building the Detroit conference shows the advances that are being made in building the kind of movement that can stay Washington's hand.

Opposing strategy

But an opposing strategy will be expressed in Detroit, that of the right-wing Libertarian Party. Adoption of its viewpoint would be fatal to the antidraft movement.

Yet the views of the Libertarian Party are probably unfamiliar to many antidraft activists.

"Anti-government sentiment . . . is potentially one of the main allies of anti-war forces today," states an article on the antidraft movement in the May 1980 issue of *Liberty*, the paper of Students for a Libertarian Society. This is a generality that sounds hard to argue with, until you find out what

the Libertarians mean by "anti-government sentiment."

If the Libertarian Party had its way, the antidraft movement would be supporting the forces that wanted to deregulate oil prices, and those who are pressing for abolition of welfare, Social Security, minimum wage laws, civil rights guarantees, and for adoption of anti-union "right to work" laws. These are only a few of the reactionary stands taken by this outfit.

This is a far cry from "anti-government sentiment." It is the same direction the Reagan administration is moving in, as it steps up the attacks on the rights and living standards of working people.

The forces behind these demands are the big corporations and the ruling rich—the authors and beneficiaries of the war drive and the enemies of working people. The Libertarian Party would point the movement toward the very class that wants to be able to send U.S. troops to El Salvador or elsewhere to protect its investments.

On side of oil companies

The Libertarian program stands on the opposite side from the thousands of antidraft demonstrators who have chanted, "Hell, no, we won't go, we won't fight for Texaco!"

The Libertarians' call for deregulating oil prices was a favorite of Texaco's. It made it even easier for the oil barons to rip us off, as the latest price hikes at the gas pump have shown.

Leaders of the Libertarian Party have a personal stake in this particular issue. Edward Clark, their 1980 presidential candidate, is a lawyer for the oil giant, Atlantic Richfield Company (ARCO). David Koch, his running mate, is an heir to Koch Industries—a major oil distributor that, according to *Forbes* magazine, "may well be the U.S.'s most profitable private business."

Adoption of the Libertarian Party's policy would cut antidraft fighters off from labor, the civil rights movement, the unemployed, the elderly—and ev-

ery other potential victim of this right-wing program.

Why does the Libertarian Party have such a reactionary orientation?

The Libertarian Party claims dedication to the proposition that "all individuals have the right to exercise sole dominion over their own lives."

They say this means that people "should be left free by government to deal with one another as free traders; and the resultant economic system, the only one compatible with the protection of individual rights, is the free market."

But this vision of a pure, unrestricted "free market" capitalism never existed and never will. Big government, and government regulation of industry and finance, are unavoidable outgrowths of monopoly capitalism—the only kind of capitalism that is possible in the U.S. today.

Support 'right to work'

Such abstractions and bits of nostalgia in the Libertarian program are cover for giving an unrestricted green light to the most ruthless exploitation of working people by big business.

What they classify as "interference by government" are laws and institutions fought for by working people that restrict the power of big business or provide vital social needs.

Thus the Libertarians oppose the minimum wage, unemployment compensation, Social Security, welfare programs, and food stamps. They would like to eliminate not only federal funds for abortion, but all Medicare and Medicaid.

On the other hand, in a bonanza for business, the Libertarians would abolish all corporate taxes.

They would lift all restrictions on the building and operation of deadly nuclear power plants.

They would abolish regulations that deal with health and safety on the job or protect the environment.

The Libertarians support so-called "right to work" laws, which are intended to weaken the unions, under-

mining the ability of workers to defend their rights on the job.

Because of their hostility to the unions, the Libertarians oppose mobilizing the tremendous potential anti-draft and antiwar power of the 20 million-member organized labor movement—at a time when unions increasingly see the need to oppose militarization and war.

Leaders of the United Auto Workers and the International Association of Machinists are scheduled to speak at the Detroit conference.

Also speaking is Jerry Gordon, national coordinator of the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, sponsor of the March 28 antinuclear demonstration in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

IAM President William Winpisinger has spoken out to oppose U.S. military aid to the junta in El Salvador. And the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union is boycotting U.S. shipments to the junta.

'Money for jobs, not war'

In the May 1980 *Liberty* article, the Libertarians claim to oppose "attempts to drag . . . unrelated issues" into the antidraft movement.

They denounce socialists who allegedly "sternly lectured the new movement on the need to tie their anti-draft stance to the entire left economic program—government funded jobs, more taxes, and resistance to the anti-government trend sweeping the country."

While claiming to favor limiting the movement to the demands "No Draft, No Registration, No War Preparations," they are trying to line up the movement behind right-wing, anti-worker, anti-Black forces—which they have the gall to tag as "anti-government."

The working people and youth who make up the bulk of the antidraft movement today don't need "stern lectures" to make them want to replace the government's war drive with a drive to provide jobs, health care, and education for all.

It is not the overwhelming majority of antidraft activists or the majority of the American people who are turned off by the slogan, "Money for jobs, not war." It is the Libertarians, the right wing, the Reagan administration, and big business.

The Libertarians not only oppose government job programs and job training. They also oppose affirmative action and other attempts to end discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, and women.

Free hand for racists

They "oppose any governmental attempts to regulate private discrimination, including discrimination in employment, housing, and privately owned so-called public accommodations." The Libertarians would send us back to the days of the segregated lunch counter and the "men only need apply" want ad.

Libertarians also favor the abolition of public education—in other words, education for those who can afford it. "If one is really interested in the well-being of students," they write in the May 1980 *Liberty*, "one can only hope and pray for the early demise of public education."

Such a program would shut all doors to working-class youth, and especially to Blacks and Latinos. They would be left with little choice but joining the army or taking the lowest-paid, most dangerous jobs.

The logic of the Libertarian position would have the antidraft movement look to the racist antibusing forces and the big-business foes of affirmative action as allies, rather than the Black community, which is under attack. The movement the Libertarians advocate has no place for organizations such as the National Black Independent Political Party, whose Detroit chapter endorsed the conference, or such figures as the president of Detroit's Operation

Continued on page 19

Winpisinger opposes U.S. aid to El Salvador

The following statement was released January 26 by William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists.

In the last days of Jimmy Carter's Administration, a decision was made at the highest levels of the U.S. Government to send military aid to the government of El Salvador, putting another nail in the coffin of Carter's human rights policy.

All Americans aware of conditions in El Salvador should be opposed to this decision. El Salvador has been described as the worst human rights violator in Latin America during 1980, and one of the worst in the world.

There is a civil war going on in this small Central American country, which has one of the most tightly controlled economies in the world. Fourteen families dominate the economy. Although 60 percent of the total population lives on the land, over half the agricultural land is owned by 2 percent of the landowners.

The trade union movement has never been allowed to function freely. Out of the estimated 10,000 people

killed last year, about 1,000 were trade union leaders and activists. None of these crimes has been investigated, let alone solved.

Among the Catholic clergy working with the poor, in the past several years Archbishop Romero, 13 priests and four U.S. women missionaries were murdered.

The current government in El Salvador is not supported by the overwhelming majority of the people. Although there is a civilian President, in fact the country is controlled by the military, and even the U.S. State Department

has admitted that most of the murders of civilians are traceable to the official military and police forces.

Much of the U.S. media coverage of these events has been manipulated by the State Department to develop Congressional and public support for current policies. The fiction is promoted that the ruling Salvadoran Government is moderate and interested in carrying out social and land reforms. The opposition is labelled as communists, and linked to Cuba. State Department and National Security Council Latin American affairs "experts"

seem incapable of learning that moderation cannot exist in a society as polarized as El Salvador's. In fact, most of the moderate leaders have been murdered by right-wing death squads linked to the military.

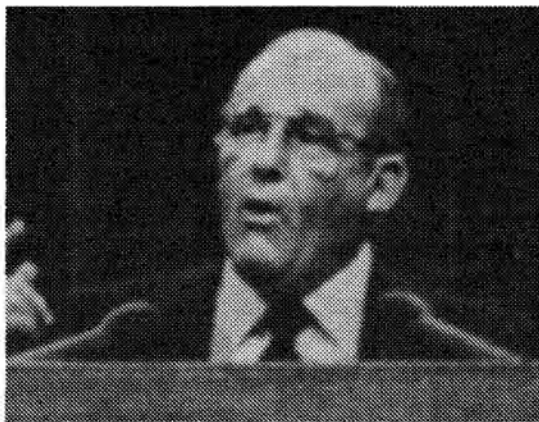
As trade unionists and Americans concerned with human rights for all, we condemn all forms of U.S. assistance to the current regime in El Salvador. Non-intervention in the civil war is the best policy.

U.S. leadership in the world will be further weakened if the Reagan Administration tries to prop up this unstable dictatorship. If U.S. military advisers are sent to train the El Salvador army in the use of equipment, we could get bogged down in another Vietnam.

America's traditional strength in the world has been based on its moral leadership as a symbol of freedom, a country founded on the rights of its people to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." What kind of message are we sending to the peoples of Latin America, Asia and Africa if we support dictatorships?

'As trade unionists and Americans concerned with human rights for all, we condemn all forms of U.S. assistance to the current regime in El Salvador.'

—from January 26 statement by Machinists Union President William Winpisinger.



Eyewitness describes El Salvador offensive

By Jim Garrison

ST. LOUIS—Wilfredo Segura is a Salvadoran student studying at a university in the St. Louis area. In El Salvador he is a member of the Movement of Independent Professionals and Technicians, an affiliate of the Revolutionary Democratic Front. He was also active in the establishment of the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador. The commission has documented cases of official terror and has itself been the target of government repression.

Since his arrival in the United States last summer, Segura has been active in the movement in solidarity with the people of El Salvador.

Segura recently returned from a three-week visit to his home in San Salvador. His last days in the country coincided with the opening week of the general offensive of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

"The people are getting more and more conscious," Segura told the *Militant*, "that the only way the country can survive is with a political system where everybody is united and works toward the benefit of the country as a whole."

'It looked like Vietnam'

Rumors of the impending offensive were widespread during the days prior to its launching. "It seems that it began at 6 p.m. on Saturday the 10th of January," Segura said. "At that time I heard a communique on the radio from the left forces announcing the offensive."

Segura lives near the Mejicanos section of San Salvador, which was the scene of heavy fighting on that first night. "The confrontation began about 6 p.m. and ended the next day about 10 in the morning. All that night there was heavy fighting. I could see tanks and helicopters going there. It looked to me like scenes from Vietnam. That was my closest experience with the fighting," Segura said.

Segura talked to a number of people who witnessed other confrontations in the country in the early days of the offensive. "Because my country is so small—you can go from one extreme to the other in four hours—you can get information from all over from people traveling through various parts of the country," Segura said. "Now what happens is that after the army has suffered casualties, they strike back by killing anyone who moves."

What body counts mean

"I had two personal experiences in this regard," Segura explained. "One case involved a gardener at a university where I used to teach. About five days before the offensive, the government said they had found a guerrilla camp on one of the volcanoes where they claimed to have killed twenty-three guerrillas. It so happens that on the day before, some relative of the gardener had died. He decided to send his two daughters to the funeral. The next day he saw his two daughters on the list of the dead. The newspapers reported it as if they were killed fighting the government.

"Another experience was with a doctor friend of

mine," Segura said. "He was called to the scene where a bazooka shell from the left forces hit a national police truck. He told me there were nineteen corpses of the police. Some were killed by the blast and others were killed when the truck crashed into a ditch. The police report stated that only two were killed."

Segura discussed the importance of the defection to the FMLN of the army barracks at Santa Ana under the command of Capt. Francisco Meno Sandoval.

According to Segura, Meno Sandoval was one of the officers who planned the coup against the regime of Gen. Humberto Romero in October 1979. "What hurts the junta most in this defection is that Meno Sandoval was just one of them. He was never a radical or leftist."

General strike

Segura noted that because of the severe repression in the capital the response to the FMLN's call for a general strike appeared to be limited. "Some of the places really went out on strike," Segura said. "I would say that the unions that were most brave participated. But one thing that has to be understood is that the unions are not armed, so when they go on strike it is easy for the army to make them go back under threat of killing them or their families."

Segura noted that in the days prior to the offensive the government had carried out extensive

searches of houses looking for arms and suspected leftists.

"As a matter of fact my house was one of them," Segura said. "I live with my parents and brothers. I had left the house just five minutes before eighteen people came armed with machine guns and grenade launchers.

"They took my father into a separate room and interrogated him. They wanted to know where I was and where my brothers were. They seemed to have some information about us. They searched the house.

"It was very hard for my father to convince them that the oscilloscope I had in my room was not a device for getting in contact with Russia. They were just looking for something to put in the newspapers that the left was getting aid from communist countries."

'When they come in plain clothes . . .'

"The people who searched my house came in plain clothes. When they come in plain clothes that means they are ready to do anything," Segura said.

"But they didn't find anything except a watch and a couple other things they stole. So they told my father they were with the Treasury Police.

"It is remarkable that they didn't go in uniforms," Segura pointed out. "But if they don't wear uniforms they can do anything. Those are the death squads. If they have to kill, they will kill."

LET THE PEOPLE OF EL SALVADOR DECIDE!

The recent decision to restore and increase US military aid to El Salvador is a dangerous step toward the involvement of the United States in the endless morass of another Vietnam.



In El Salvador, Central America's smallest country, the people of that nation are fighting to end almost 30 years of military dictatorship. Today their effort involves the overwhelming majority of the population. All of the major opposition political parties, trade union federations, professional and small business associations, the Catholic Church, peasant and student organizations, and the country's two principal universities are united in their determination that, for the first time, they can bring democracy and justice to their land.

Even the killing of over 10,000 people by the ruling junta's security forces in 1980 has failed to intimidate the people or impede their fight.

International Support for the Salvadoran People

International support for their effort grows daily. In December, the United Nations General Assembly denounced the violations of human rights by El Salvador's junta and urged governments of the world not to supply arms to that regime. 72 nations from all continents, including Sweden, the Netherlands, Greece, India, Kenya, Ireland, Jamaica and Syria supported that resolution.

The world's social democratic parties, particularly the governing parties of West Germany and Austria, have condemned the junta and urged support for the broad based opposition coalition, the Democratic Revolutionary Front whose president is the leader of El Salvador's social democrats.

Mexico's president has urged President Reagan not to intervene in El Salvador. His concern was echoed by the Canadian government in a joint Mexico-Canada statement on the growing crisis. And Latin American

neighbors like Ecuador, Panama, and Nicaragua have expressed increasing alarm at the prospect of direct military intervention.

But the Government of the United States Disagrees

During 1980 alone, the US government sent \$90 million in economic aid and \$5.7 million in military aid to bolster the ruling junta, using US tax dollars to buy nothing more than terror and repression for the Salvadoran people.

The Murders of the Four American Women

In December, four American women—three nuns and a lay missionary—were murdered in El Salvador. According to a letter sent by the U.S. State Department to the families of the slain women, circumstantial evidence surrounding the murders pointed to Salvadoran security force involvement. Fears of public outcry forced the U.S. government to suspend military aid.

State Department officials personally promised the families of the four women that aid would not be restored until a thorough investigation was completed. Robert White, the U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, acknowledged in the *New York Times* that "As far as I'm concerned, there is no reason to believe that the government of El Salvador is conducting a serious investigation." Yet, on January 14, the U.S. government not only restored aid, but increased its military involvement in El Salvador's affairs.

U.S. Administration Restores and Increases Military Aid

The \$5 million in military aid that was cut off in December has been restored and expanded. On January 17, an additional \$5 million in military aid was released by executive order, without need for Congressional approval. That aid—described as "lethal" by the State Department—includes grenades, grenade launchers, M-16 automatic rifles, ammunition, and four additional Huey troop transport helicopters, bringing the total to six. A team of military advisers as well as a helicopter training team have already been sent.

Military Aid Will Not Solve El Salvador's Problems

We fear that the sending of this aid and the commitment of military advisers to prop up an unpopular government will mean more bloodshed and more death for innocent people. It offers no solution to the economic and social problems which beset El Salvador and threaten to turn all of Central America into a battlefield. It diverts the attention and resources of the American people from the pressing needs of our own communities. And dispatching military advisers was a first step in our involvement in Vietnam.

U.S. military advisers and equipment will not buy El Salvador peace and stability. Long term peace in that nation will be found only by the Salvadorans, settling their own problems.

In the interests of the people of El Salvador, the people of Central America, and in the interests of the people of the United States:

END ALL FORMS OF U.S. MILITARY AID AND PRESENCE IN EL SALVADOR — LET THE PEOPLE OF EL SALVADOR DECIDE

Text of full-page ad in February 3 'New York Times' by U.S. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). List of 230 endorsers included ten U.S. Congress members and prominent religious leaders. Also, union officials from West Coast docks, Steelworkers, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Fur and Leather, Newspaper Guild, Hospital Workers, United Electrical, Millinery, Clothing Workers. Black leaders Rev. Jesse Jackson, Coretta Scott King, and Rev. Joseph Lowery. Scientists Carl Sagan, Salvador Luria, and Linus Pauling. Cultural figures Mongo Santamaria, Kris Kristofferson, Anne Jackson, E.L. Doctorow, Melvin Van Peebles, Erica Jong, Jane Fonda, and Ntozake Shange.

'Wall Street Journal' blasted ad: 'parallel to Vietnam is uncanny.' Journal predicted opponents of U.S. aggression 'are going to find it harder this time to make it all sell.'

But opposition to U.S. intervention is already greater than early years of Vietnam War.

Malcolm X on racism, Rockwell, politics

February 21 marks the sixteenth anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X. The truth about his murder, including probable government complicity, has never been brought to light.

Malcolm was a revolutionary. His uncompromising fight for Black rights made him an internationalist and an anticapitalist. His ideas continue to influence and educate young rebels today.

Reprinted below are excerpts from statements and speeches by Malcolm X during the last year of his life.

Racism

Usually the Black racist has been produced by the white racist. In most cases where you see it, it is the reaction to white racism, and if you analyze it closely, it's not really Black racism. I think Black people have shown less racist tendencies than any people since the beginning of history. . . .

If we react to white racism with a violent reaction, to me that's not Black racism. If you come to put a rope around my neck and I hang you for it, to me that's not racism. Yours is racism, but my reaction has nothing to do with racism. My reaction is the reaction of a human being, reacting to defend himself and protect himself. This is what our people haven't done,

and some of them, at least at the high academic level, don't want to. But most of us aren't at that level. Harvard Law School Forum December 16, 1964

Public notice to Rockwell

At a public rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity in Harlem on January 24, 1965, Malcolm said that on a television news broadcast he had seen Rev. Martin Luther King knocked down by a racist, that 'it hurt me,' and that if he had been there he would have gone to King's aid. He also read aloud the text of a telegram he had sent to George Lincoln Rockwell, head of the American Nazi Party:

This is to warn you that I am no longer held in check from fighting white supremacists by Elijah Muhammad's separatist Black Muslim movement, and that if your present racist agitation against our people there in Alabama causes physical harm to Reverend King or any other Black Americans who are only attempting to enjoy their rights as free human beings, that you and your Ku Klux Klan friends will be met with maximum physical retaliation from those of us who are not handcuffed by the disarming philosophy of nonviolence, and

who believe in asserting our right to self-defense—by any means necessary.

Politics

It isn't a president who can help or hurt; it is the system. And this system is not only ruling us in America, it is ruling the world. Nowadays, when a man is running for president of the United States, he is not running for president of the United States alone; he has to be acceptable to other areas of the world where American influence rules.

If Johnson had been running all by himself, he would not have been acceptable to anyone. The only thing that made him acceptable to the world was that the shrewd capitalists, the shrewd imperialists, knew that the only way people would run toward the fox would be if you showed them a wolf. So they created a ghastly alternative. And it had the whole word—including people who call themselves Marxists—hoping that Johnson would beat Goldwater.

I have to say this: Those who claim to be the enemies of the system were on their hands and knees waiting for Johnson to get elected—because he is supposed to be a man of peace. And at that moment he had troops invading the Congo and South Vietnam! He even has troops in areas where other imperialists have already withdrawn. Peace Corps to Nigeria, mercenaries to the Congo!

Presence Africaine Meeting Paris, November 23, 1964

Era of revolution

We are living in an era of revolution, and the revolt of the American Negro is part of the rebellion against the oppression and colonialism which has characterized this era. . . .

It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Negro as simply a racial conflict of Black against white, or as a purely American problem. Rather, we are today seeing a global rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter.

Columbia Daily Spectator February 19, 1965

Capitalism

It is impossible for capitalism to survive, primarily because the system of capitalism needs some blood to suck. Capitalism used to be like an eagle, but now it's more like a vulture. It used to be strong enough to go and suck anybody's blood whether they were strong or not. But now it has become more cowardly, like the vulture, and it can only suck the blood of the helpless. As the nations of the world free themselves, then capitalism has less victims, less to suck, and it becomes weaker and weaker. It's only a matter of time in my opinion before it will collapse completely.

Young Socialist interview March-April 1965

What's Going On

Meetings commemorating Malcolm X

CALIFORNIA OAKLAND

IN TRIBUTE TO MALCOLM X: Rally to launch Socialist Workers election campaign for mayor of Oakland. Speakers: Zakiya Somburu, SWP candidate for mayor of Oakland; Donald Massey, member, Young Socialist Alliance, recently returned from Grenada; Tony Thomas, SWP National Committee. Sat., Feb. 21, open house 7 p.m., rally 8 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (415) 763-3792.

SAN DIEGO

A WEEKEND ON SOCIALISM AND BLACK LIBERATION. Fri., Feb. 20, 7:30 p.m. The Legacy of Malcolm X. Speakers: Derrick Adams, Black activist, member, Socialist Workers Party; Imani Siku Zote, NASSCO worker, Ironworkers 627; Gary Raimo, president, Black Student Union, Mt. SAC College. Sat., Feb. 21, 12 p.m. Why Marxists Support Black Nationalism, by Derrick Adams. 3 p.m. History of the Struggle for an Independent Black Political Party, by Adwoa Codjoe. 7 p.m. music, dancing, and refreshments. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: The Militant and Perspective Mundial. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

SAN FRANCISCO

A SALUTE TO MALCOLM X: REVOLUTIONARY GRENADA AND THE NATIONAL BLACK INDEPENDENT POLITICAL PARTY. Speakers: Donald Massey, Young Socialist Alliance, visited Grenada and will show slides of his trip; Tony Thomas, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Fri., Feb. 20, 8 p.m. 3284

23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

THE LEGACY OF MALCOLM X. Film showing: *Malcolm X: Struggle for Freedom*. Speakers on Malcolm's life and the meaning of struggles for today. Sun., Feb. 22, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MINNESOTA IRON RANGE

THE LEGACY OF MALCOLM X. Speakers: Keith Parker, former professor of Black studies, University of Minnesota. Program will include tapes of Malcolm X speeches. Thurs., Feb. 19, 7 p.m. Solidarity Bookstore, 1012 Second Ave. South, Virginia. Ausp: Solidarity Bookstore Forum series. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

TWIN CITIES

MALCOLM X: THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS. Film: *Malcolm X: Struggle for Freedom*. Speaker: Tiffany Patterson, scholar and instructor of Black history at University of Minnesota; Lynn Henderson, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 22, 4 p.m. 508 N. Snelling, St. Paul. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Twin Cities Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

OHIO CLEVELAND

MALCOLM X MEMORIAL MEETING. Featuring a movie: *Malcolm X: Struggle for Freedom*. Speakers: Dana Perry-Cooper, Cleveland Black Independent Political Party; Larry Prince, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sun., Feb. 22, 7 p.m. 2230 Superior. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

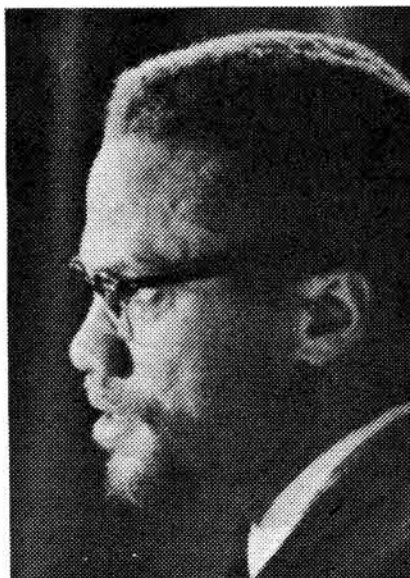
WASHINGTON SEATTLE

MALCOLM X. Speaker: Donald Massey, Young Socialist Alliance. Film and recorded talks by Malcolm X. Fri., Feb. 27, 7 p.m. 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WISCONSIN MILWAUKEE

MALCOLM X AND THE FIGHT FOR BLACK RIGHTS. Film: *Malcolm X: Struggle for Freedom*. Speakers: Paul Blackman, president, Smith Steelworkers; representatives of Young Socialist Alliance and Marquette Black Student Council. Sat., Feb. 21, 8 p.m. Cross Lutheran Church, 1821 N. 16th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

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CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

AN EVENING OF SOLIDARITY AND PROTEST: EL SALVADOR, GRENADA, NICARAGUA. Speakers: Kanute Burke, consul-general for North America from Grenada; representative, CSP, Sandinista trade union of Nicaragua; representative of forces in El Salvador fighting against the junta; others. Central American and Caribbean music and food. Sat., Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m. Casa Nicaragua, 2121 W. Pico Blvd. (east of Hoover). Ausp: Casa Nicaragua; Salvador Coordinating Committee of Los Angeles; U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society.

SAN FRANCISCO

CUBA TODAY. Speakers: Sara Gates, Socialist Workers Party; a representative from San Francisco Mime Troupe with slides from troupe's visit to Cuba. Fri., Feb. 27, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

PROPOSITION 2½: SCHOOLS, SOCIAL SERVI-

CES, AND JOBS ON THE LINE. Speakers: Robert Kuttner, editor of "Working Papers for a New Society"; Robert Schaeffer, member, executive board of Citizens for Participation in Political Activity (CPPAX); Roger Sheppard, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 15, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN DETROIT

LESSONS OF NICARAGUA: ITS MEANING FOR EL SALVADOR. Speakers: Mark Rogers, delegate to first international conference in solidarity with Nicaragua; Marge Bursie, American Friends Service Committee, recently returned from fact-finding tour of El Salvador. Sun., Feb. 22, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA IRON RANGE

THE SONG OF THE CANARY: An acclaimed

film on industrial health and safety. Discussion of local safety issues led by David Salner, a miner at Eveleth Taconite Company. Fri., Feb. 27, 7:30 p.m. Solidarity Bookstore, 1012 Second Ave. South, Virginia. Ausp: Solidarity Bookstore Forum Series. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

TWIN CITIES

SOCIALISTS SUE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO STOP FBI CRIMES AND DEFEND POLITICAL RIGHTS. Speaker: Willie Mae Reid, 1976 Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president. Sat., Feb. 28, 6 p.m. reception with refreshments; 8 p.m. program. 508 N. Snelling, St. Paul. Donation: \$3.50 for evening; \$1.50 program only. Ausp: SWP and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW JERSEY NEWARK

IRAN: WASHINGTON FAILS TO PUSH BACK THE REVOLUTION. Speaker: Greg Nelson, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 14, 8 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

Whose allowance will Papa Reagan cut?

By William Gottlieb

If you credit the media, Reagan's February 5 speech on the economy ranked somewhere between the Sermon on the Mount and the Gettysburg Address. The *New York Times* raved about his "oratorical directness" and "aura of sincerity," and even provided us with a sample of the Great Man's handwriting.

The chorus of praise sought to persuade us to swallow Reagan's false presentation of the causes and cure of the economic crisis.

The economy is "in the worst economic mess since the Great Depression," Reagan declared. He conceded that today's army of unemployed could form a line stretching "from the coast of Maine to California."

Reagan claimed that the crisis is the result of too much government spending on social services, and too many restrictions on the ability of corporations to profitably ruin the environment, poison our food, and provide us with unsafe-at-any-speed autos.

Posing as a stern father laying down the law to a spendthrift brood, Reagan declared, "You know we can lecture our children about extravagance until we run out of voice and breath. Or we can cure their extravagance simply by reducing their allowance."

He promised that budget cuts would not harm the "truly needy." An example of who fits this category came a few days later when the administration leaked plans to add \$32 billion to the arms budget.

The prime targets of the budget-cutters will be programs that benefit working people. We can expect a deluge of propaganda portraying recipients of food stamps, medicaid, and unemployment compensation as greedy chiselers. At the same time, paying an ever-larger portion of our taxes to help big oil and the other big corporations prepare new Vietnams or even a nuclear conflagration will be presented as a patriotic duty.



Reagan: "Well, you know we can lecture our children about extravagance until we run out of voice and breath. Or we can cure their extravagance simply by reducing their allowance."

Reagan managed to talk through both sides of his mouth on taxes. He claimed that big business doesn't really pay taxes at all, but simply passes on the cost in the form of higher prices.

This didn't prevent him from complaining that "punitive tax policies" are killing the incentive of business to invest.

In the name of cutting taxes, the millionaire tax-dodgers will be provided with more and bigger loopholes while workers and farmers will have to carry an increased proportion of the tax burden.

The real meaning of the demagoguery about taxes and the budget is that wealth is to be redistributed. Papa Reagan wants to cut *our* "allowance"

so that he can increase the "allowance" of the rich.

Reagan's "analysis" of the U.S. economy is radically false. The growing crisis is not caused by increased wages and social benefits eating into profits. It is caused by the inability of the great mass of people to buy the products produced by industry at prices that provide the capitalists with the profits they feel they need.

This kind of crisis has occurred repeatedly in the history of capitalism. Such crises have broken out when government budgets and deficits were large, small, and middle-sized. The crisis of 1929 that ushered in the Great Depression followed a decade of tax- and budget-cutting.

Shifting the distribution of national income in favor of the bosses won't

cure this economic crisis. It will further constrict the already inadequate market.

Instead of a single line of unemployed stretching from Maine to California, a double or triple line is likely to result.

The "basic system is sound," Reagan insisted. No, it is the basic system of capitalism that is the real source of the crisis. Human labor and human-made technology have become far too productive for this outlived system.

Reagan's speech lacked specific proposals, claiming that these would be put forward February 18. Like earlier talk about proclaiming a "national economic emergency," it was intended to create a crisis atmosphere in which the rulers hoped we would quietly go along with accelerated attacks on our living standards.

As under Carter, the ruling class is moving cautiously, testing resistance at each step.

Thus Senate Republican leader Howard Baker, Jr., predicted, "We're going to have the biggest domestic legislative battle in this country since Franklin Delano Roosevelt."

It's not legislative shadow boxing that worries Baker, though. He knows that liberals and conservatives alike are increasingly united in imposing sacrifices on us to benefit the millionaires. He's worried about the real opposition these proposals are going to meet from working people in the streets, the factories, and in Black and Hispanic communities.

This fear is the reason for the shameful lying by the big-business media about the biggest civil rights action in eighteen years—the January 15 march of 100,000 Blacks demanding that Martin Luther King's birthday be declared a national holiday.

And the rulers still have to confront the unbroken potential power of 20 million union members.

It is the battles waged by forces like these that will decide the fate of Reagan's economic program.

Detroit labor hits union busting, political firings

By Tony Dutrow

DETROIT—"Beating the Union Busters in the '80s" was the theme of a conference organized by the Labor Studies Center of Wayne State University on January 24. Given the theme of the conference, it's no surprise that the case of fifteen workers fired by Lockheed for being union militants and socialists attracted a lot of sympathy and support.

More than 500 trade unionists filled the auditorium to capacity, the overflow spilling out into the aisles. Gene Brook, co-coordinator of the Labor Studies Center, said the huge turnout was three times what they expected.

Members from thirty-four unions registered at the conference, including workers from the United Steelworkers, United Auto Workers, Teamsters, Machinists, public employee unions, and others.

The keynote speaker was William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists. He spoke of the offensive against American unions by the government and big business.

His speech zeroed in on what he called "traveling anti-union shows" opening in cities throughout the country to train union busters.

"These activities are not just the work of some industrious entrepreneur. A rogues' gallery of employer associations, including the National Association of Manufacturers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, have formed a national clearing house to coordinate the offensive through the Council for a Union Free Environment," he said.

Winpisinger warned this "offers employers critiques of how to develop job

interviews to screen out undesirables. Sound familiar? This is what Hitler pushed prior to taking over—psychological profiles and personality tests for prospective workers. They want to screen out 'troublesome' workers, that is, pro-union workers."

The fired Lockheed workers are a good example of what Winpisinger was talking about. One of the tables set up at the conference had a large display board urging "Defend the Lockheed 15." It attracted many trade unionists.

On the board were copies of Lockheed's in-plant spy files exposing how the company spied on and fired the fifteen workers from its Marietta, Georgia, plant. Most of those fired are members of the Socialist Workers Party; all fifteen are members of International Association of Machinists Lodge 709.

Many conference participants lined up to read the files. The response was shock, amazement, and anger. Hundreds of copies of the *Militant* supplement reprinting facts on the case were eagerly taken from the table. Brochures on the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against secret police spying were also received with great interest.

Trade unionists working at the table signed up nearly forty unionists on a petition demanding that Lockheed-Georgia President Robert Ormsby immediately reinstate the fifteen.

Some asked, "You mean these workers were fired just because of their ideas? Let me sign." Others simply read the files, shook their heads, and angrily wrote their names.

This spirit of solidarity fit right into the theme of the conference.

"If the labor movement doesn't get together, we will be destroyed by their [big businesses'] blueprint," Winpisinger told the audience. They want the "freedom to kill and maim on the job; the freedom to price a product out of sight; freedom to exploit resources; freedom to build what they want, when they want it; the freedom to restore the ten-hour day, the seventy-hour workweek; the freedom to conduct raids in the plants. These are the catch-as-catch-can slogans of reindustrialization."

A presentation by Harry Lester, educational director of United Steelworkers District 29, gave a case study in union busting at McClouth Steel and Whitehead and Kales, two companies that attempted to force a one-year wage freeze on steelworkers' locals in District 29.

Lester said labor solidarity, actively involving the membership in the strike, and anticorporate educational materials were the most effective tools in combating these union busters.

Both attempts to impose the "Chrysler syndrome," as Lester put it, were turned away by the steelworkers. McClouth Steel settled after a three-day strike, and Whitehead and Kales did so after forcing workers out on strike for four months.

Other panelists included United Auto Workers Vice-president Martin Gerber; Robert Johnson, president of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District 25; Richard Cordtz, international secretary-treasurer of the Service Employees International Union; Ed Scribner, Teamsters Joint Council 43;

and a representative from the Detroit Building Trades.

During the discussion period of the conference there were sharp exchanges about the concessions imposed on the United Auto Workers by Chrysler as an example of the growing antilabor push by the employers and the government.

Lockheed workers on tour

Two of the fifteen fired Lockheed workers are currently on national tour speaking about the facts in their case. If you want to set up a meeting for them or find out details on the tour in your area, consult the local listings on page 27.

Chris Hoeppner

Feb. 11-14	Seattle
Feb. 15-17	Portland
Feb. 18-20	Vancouver
Feb. 21-24	Denver

Andree Kahlmorgan

Feb. 14	Detroit (National Antidraft Conf.)
Feb. 15	Chicago
Feb. 17-19	Detroit
Feb. 20-23	Cleveland
Feb. 25-27	Philadelphia

New court deals with FBI, Red Squad: police

By Larry Seigle

Residents of New York City woke up to an unusual news story last December 31. Officials of the New York Civil Liberties Union were quoted as lauding Police Commissioner Robert McGuire for his policy on political spying by the New York cops.

The civil liberties people were quoted in a big front-page story in the *New York Times*. They praised the city's top cop for his "spirit of cooperation," "reasonableness," and "realistic attitude" on the question.

What did McGuire do to earn this enthusiastic endorsement? Did he abolish the city's notorious Red Squad? Did he ban political surveillance on the labor movement, on the organizations of the Black and Hispanic communities, on socialist groups? Did he perhaps announce that he was finally mobilizing the resources of the police department to apprehend racist gangs who have terrorized Black families in Rosedale, Queens, and on Staten Island?

No. What McGuire did was to agree with the Civil Liberties Union on an out-of-court settlement of a nine-year-old lawsuit against the Red Squad. The suit is a class-action one, brought on behalf of all victims of police spying, harassment, and disruption activities.

Although the suit has produced massive documentation on illegal police activities, under the terms of the settlement the cops won't admit—and the court won't rule—that any of their past actions were illegal or wrong.

Does the settlement ban future spying? Hardly. According to the *Times*, the cops "will continue to keep 'generic information' about some political activities. . . . However, the Police Department will not open an index or a file on any person simply because of participation" in demonstrations or meetings. (Emphasis added.) They will have to come up with some other reason to open a file.

These rules, according to the *Times*, are "very similar" to what the cops have been following for the past decade.

The big new provision agreed to by the cops and the Civil Liberties Union lawyers is the creation of a three-member supervisory board to watch the cops and protect our rights. The panel will consist of the first deputy police commissioner, the deputy commissioner for legal affairs, and a third "civilian member" to be handpicked by none other than the despised mayor of the city, Edward Koch. (Maybe one of the "civil liberties" lawyers on the case, if they campaign hard enough for Koch in the coming tough election, will be rewarded with this plum appointment. It would be fitting.)

'Enlightened' spying

Dorothy Samuels, executive director of the New York Civil Liberties Union, raved about the settlement as "a major step toward eliminating police surveillance. . . ."

The cops were equally enthused. The commissioner hailed the civil liberties people for recognizing what he called "an enlightened approach to balancing the rights of political activists and the police responsibility for maintaining public order and investigating crime."

(Because the suit is a class-action, a public hearing must be held by the federal judge presiding over the case to consider objections to the settlement by any New York resident who has been the target of police spying. Attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, among the major targets of the Red Squad, are preparing objections to be filed in court. They will urge the judge to reject the settlement as a fake and a fraud.)

When the Civil Liberties Union lawyers and other liberals throw their arms around the political police and salute them for their "enlightened" approach to political spying, working people are the losers. That is exactly



Plain-clothes cops arrest demonstrator during October 1967 Stop the Draft march. New York and Chicago court settlements would legitimize continued assaults on democratic rights.

what is happening in a number of court cases around the country.

The American Civil Liberties Union and other groups that at times have given aid to the fight against the political police, are all too often betraying that struggle by agreeing to out-of-court settlements that amount to little more than promises of more "enlightened" spying by the cops.

While no one can have any objection in principle to lawyers settling these cases, many of the deals that are being struck are plain sell-outs. The victims of the cops walk away with nothing, while the cops walk away with endorsement for their current practices by people who claim to speak for civil liberties. This is especially valuable to the cops at a time when they are stepping up their illegal activities aimed at disrupting political protest and organizing efforts.

Chicago settlement

Nowhere is this process clearer than in Chicago, where a deal to scuttle a lawsuit against secret police crimes is being cooked up. The deal has been worked out between the FBI and CIA on the one hand, and lawyers for the ACLU and a local group known as the Alliance to End Repression on the other. This proposed settlement will be presented on February 13 to a federal judge, who must approve any settlement.

The Chicago case grew out of the revelation in the mid-1970s of widespread illegal surveillance and disruption involving the Chicago cops, the federal secret police, and right-wing terror gangs such as the Legion of Justice.

The targets of the illegal spying include groups such as the Steelworkers union, United Auto Workers, Teamsters, as well as the NAACP and Operation PUSH. Also victimized were the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

A number of groups, including the

SWP and YSA got together to bring a suit to expose what was going on and to help mobilize support for the fight against it.

However, the attorneys on the case have now revealed the terms of a deal that would end the fight. The deal, however, is running into opposition. At the February 13 hearing, objections to the terms of the settlement will be heard from several groups.

Attorneys Flint Taylor, Dennis Cunningham, and Jeffrey Haas, of the People's Law Office in Chicago, have denounced the deal. The People's Law Office has won wide respect for its tenacious fight to win compensation for the family of Chicago Black Panther leader Fred Hampton, who was murdered by the cops as he lay sleeping in his bed in 1969.

The three activist lawyers, who are themselves plaintiffs in the suit, have criticized the proposed settlement as "fraught with ambiguities, all running to the benefit of a government which has shown . . . that it cannot be trusted to uphold the Bill of Rights or obey the law."

Attorneys for the SWP and YSA have also filed a detailed objection to the deal, blasting it as a "sham" and a "mockery of a fair settlement." They will urge the judge to throw the settlement out and instruct the attorneys on both sides to prepare the case for trial.

Like the New York agreement, the Chicago proposal would lead to the dismissal of the case without any admission by the FBI or CIA that they did anything wrong, and no factual findings or legal rulings by the court. Thus even though, for example, the FBI has admitted committing some 500 political burglaries in Chicago, they will get off scot-free.

Bag jobs okayed

Instead, what the settlement says is that under current FBI Guidelines many (it never says which) of those past actions would not be allowed.

However, the settlement gets no

more specific than that. It does not say, for instance, that the FBI won't continue to carry out "black bag jobs" against political groups, such as the SWP.

In fact, the lawyers went out of their way to write into the settlement provisions such as "unconsented physical searches" in political cases are not prohibited "for the purpose of placing, maintaining, or removing authorized electronic surveillance devices or conducting surveys in connection therewith."

And they state, "Nothing in this subsection shall prohibit a warrantless search in circumstances in which a warrant is not required. . . ." When is a warrant "not required"? Whenever the FBI says it isn't.

What is most damaging to the fight against police spying, however, is not the 101 loopholes but the lengths to which the settlement goes to express political confidence in the "new" FBI. The deal is based almost entirely on the FBI Guidelines, which were issued in 1976.

These guidelines have come under fire as fakes, and have been discredited in the eyes of many, as FBI political spying and harassment has continued.

So the lawyers for the ACLU and the Alliance to End Repression, in collaboration with the FBI and CIA, included a lengthy section in the settlement aimed at bolstering the sagging confidence in the "reforms" of the FBI. This section states that at first the lawyers were "deeply concerned" about the "ambiguities and omissions" in the FBI Guidelines.

But then the FBI supplied figures showing a "dramatic reduction" in the number of "domestic security" and other investigations. This was all that was needed for the lawyers to have their doubts removed and change their minds.

"The Attorney General initiated the implementation of the Guidelines by disapproving ten of the first nineteen full domestic security investigations of organizations upon which he made determinations. Among the domestic security investigations he discontinued were those of the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party, U.S.A. . . . These decisions indicate that the Guidelines are not intended to permit domestic security investigations of groups which advocate the necessity for violent revolution at some time in the indefinite future, but which do not now engage in serious crimes or violence or advocate imminent serious crime or violence."

(A footnote at this point concedes that the "domestic security" investigation aimed at the CP wasn't really ended; it was "converted to one conducted pursuant to the Attorney General's Guidelines governing foreign counterintelligence investigations.")

As the SWP's written objection to this settlement points out, this paragraph simply repeats the FBI's accusations that political parties such as the CP and SWP urge "violent revolution" and are likely to engage in "serious crimes or violence" in the future.

"These assertions," the SWP points out, "can only be characterized as lies. They are, in fact, lifted from the current characterizations maintained in the FBI's files on the SWP."

The Communist Party really ought to join with the SWP in denouncing this attempt to brand the two parties in this manner. We hope they will. Unfortunately, the CP has not yet spoken out in opposition to the proposed Chicago settlement.

'Loss of heart'

In their criticism of the proposed FBI-ACLU-Alliance deal, attorneys Taylor, Cunningham, and Haas express dismay at what appears to be "a loss of heart" by the ACLU and Alliance lawyers. With the case on the eve of trial, and so much incriminating evidence already gathered, they ask, why have the lawyers proposed that

spying given an 'enlightened' face

we settle for such a rotten deal?

The answer is certainly not that the ACLU or the Alliance to End Repression have run out of funds to keep the case going, or that they have found better ways to fight the secret police. And it is certainly not because they have failed to collect enough facts to hang the FBI ten times over at a trial.

Rather, their "loss of heart" is part of a bigger shift in American politics. As the crisis facing the American capitalist system deepens, and the rulers are compelled to step up their attacks on the rights and living standards of the working class, the differences are disappearing between Democrats and Republicans, between

liberals and conservatives, over what the government can and should do.

They find themselves increasingly in harmony on political, economic, and social policies. That was the major lesson of the 1980 election.

Bipartisan policy

Naturally, this increasingly bipartisan domestic policy includes the question of democratic rights and the secret police.

The ruling rich, their servants in the two capitalist parties—and their lawyers—know that in order to carry through their program for the United States, democratic rights have got to give way. The FBI, the local Red

Squads, and other undercover cop operations have to be strengthened.

That is why, for example, the major news media have enforced a news blackout on the crucially important recent developments in the SWP and YSA lawsuit against the FBI going on in New York, events with which *Militant* readers are already familiar.

Instead, the capitalist media promote, with extensive news coverage, settlements of the New York and Chicago type, which fit in with their line. News of the preparations for trial in the SWP case—which has not been settled—is not "fit to print."

It would not be accurate to accuse the attorneys for the ACLU and sim-

ilar groups of being bought off, or proposing these settlements for venal reasons. The fact is, they believe in them. They believe in the "enlightened" police spying that will be allowed under the terms of these proposed deals as much as the editors of the *New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune* do.

That is why maximum public protest should be focused in opposition to these rotten deals, and a big campaign launched to get out the truth about them to the labor movement, the Black movement, and everyone else who has a stake in the fight against the secret police.

Team of socialists set to tour Southwest

By Norton Sandler

This week a team of Spanish-speaking socialists will begin a two-month tour of the Southwest. They will be talking to Chicano and *mexicano* workers about the March 16 court case in which the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance will put the U.S. government on trial for its attacks on political freedom.

The team will be discussing the socialist ideas the government is trying to suppress and will also be selling

possible about Chicano victims of government political attacks," Ariza said. "In Pueblo, Colorado, we are going to talk to those who have been attending the trial of Kiko Martínez, a well-known Chicano activist now fighting a frame-up.

This is particularly important, Ariza said, because of the history of government efforts to disrupt the Chicano liberation movement. The attempt to frame up Martínez is just one example of the many attacks directed against Chicano activists and organizations by federal and local cops.

"We think the people we'll be talking to on this trip will be especially interested in what our lawsuit is bringing to light," Ariza commented.

"Also," he added, "we're sure there will be great interest in our coverage of the events in Central America, particularly El Salvador, where Washington is trying to thwart the liberation movement.

"We are going to write articles based on what we learn as part of expanding the coverage on Chicano and *mexicano* workers in *PM* and the *Militant*."

According to Ariza, the team's travel plan will include "places we haven't been to on a regular basis, like the San Luis Valley in Colorado, where Chicanos are involved in a land rights struggle; the copper mining area near Silver City, Arizona, where steelworkers were involved in a long strike



Militant/Henry Snipper

RICHARD ARIZA

last year; and the fields of Southern California.

"We have a slide show on El Salvador that we're going to take with us," he said. "We'll encourage everyone to get involved in the solidarity movement that is developing with the people of El Salvador.

"In Southern Colorado, near Trinidad, we are going to talk to Spanish-speaking members of the United Mine Workers about their upcoming contract negotiations and about the national demonstration in Harrisburg, Pennsyl-

vania, March 28 against nuclear power."

The southwestern team will not be the only one spreading the word about the pending trial and the ideas that the FBI is opposed to. Soon another team based near Harrisburg will also be in the field. That team will be selling subscriptions to the *Militant*, not only in the Harrisburg area but also in the coal fields of southern West Virginia near Charleston and in the Morgantown and Pittsburgh area.

The expenses for both teams will be covered by the \$75,000 Socialist Fund. To date, the Fund has raised more than \$58,590. The fund, which will go until May 1, is vital to helping get out socialist ideas during the period of the historic SWP/YSA suit aimed at halting illegal government activity.

Particularly gratifying has been the response to a fund appeal to *Militant* readers.

In the very first week, readers responded with contributions of more than \$2,000.

Contributions have come in from such diverse locations as Newport, New Hampshire; Spring Valley, California; Edinboro, Pennsylvania; Bennington, Oklahoma; South Bend, Indiana; Las Vegas, New Mexico; and Culp Creek, Oregon. Those wishing to help can send a contribution to the Socialist Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

\$75,000
Socialist Fund

single issues and subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial* and the *Militant*.

Richard Ariza, a staff writer for the socialist Spanish-language publication *Perspectiva Mundial*, will head up the team.

In an interview, Ariza said the team will be going from Denver to El Paso, Albuquerque, Phoenix, and San Diego, and many stops in between.

They plan to distribute large quantities of the Spanish-language version of the socialist campaign brochure "Secret Police on Trial."

"We also want to learn as much as

Where we are

\$58,590

\$75,000

FROM PATHFINDER

Revolutionary Continuity

The Early Years/1848-1917

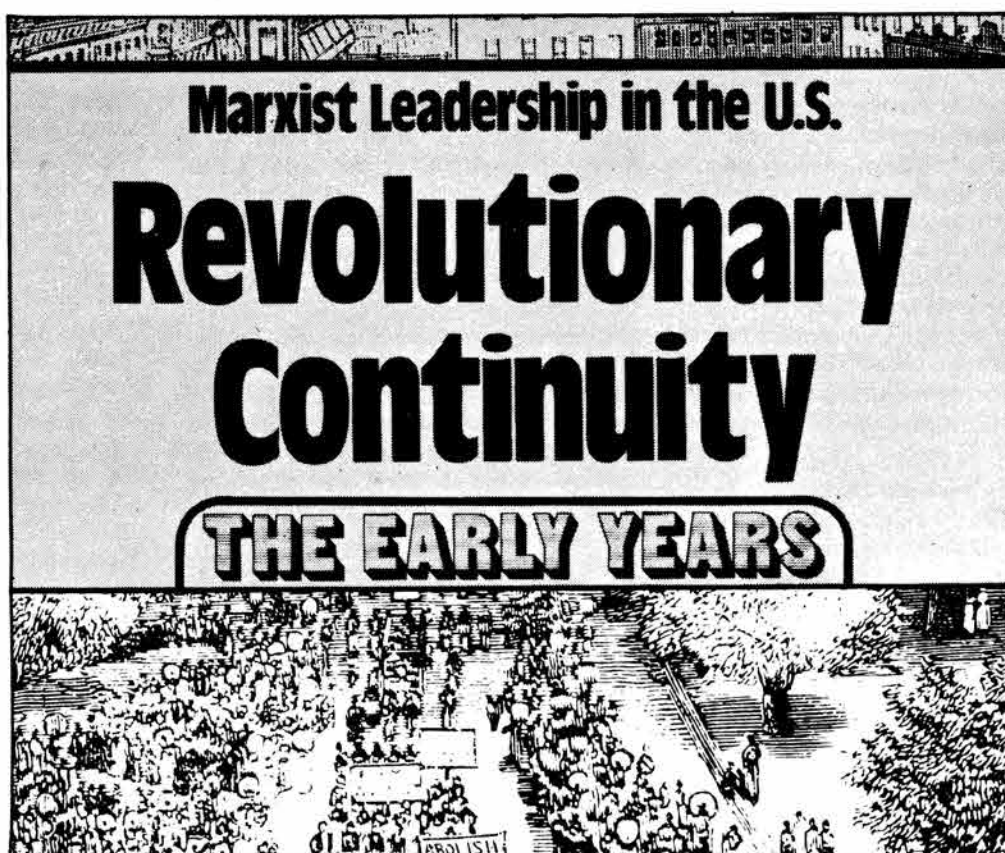
by Farrell Dobbs

Farrell Dobbs, a leader of the 1934 Minneapolis teamster strikes and national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party 1953-72, traces the revolutionary continuity of Marxist leadership in the U.S.

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Karolyn Kerry: fighter

By Mary-Alice Waters

Karolyn Kerry, an activist and leader of the revolutionary socialist movement in the United States for almost forty-seven years, died unexpectedly of a heart attack in San Diego, California, on February 5. She was seventy years old.

Karolyn Eudora McLeland was born December 11, 1910, in Louisville, Kentucky, where she spent the first years of her life. She described her family as southern "poor whites."

Her father died while she was still in grade school and her mother soon moved to Chicago. Karolyn finished the 8th grade at the Mary D. Hill Public School in Louisville, but when she got to Chicago she decided she had had enough of family and school. Barely into her teens, she set off on her own to make her way as a young working woman.

Karolyn got a job in a department store in Chicago. Like millions of others of her generation she was soon deeply affected by the economic and social catastrophe of capitalism following the crash of 1929. She began to search for explanations, to be interested in politics.

In 1930, through mutual friends, she met Tom Kerry, a young salesman for the Chicago Byproduct Coke Company. That was the beginning of a lifelong relationship as companions and comrades.

Tom introduced Karolyn to socialist ideas, but at that point neither of them

the waterfront in the Bay Area took not only the conviction that the ideas expressed in the paper were correct, but courage and a capacity to defend yourself physically as well. The Stalinist goons of the Communist Party did whatever they could get away with to prevent the revolutionary Marxist point of view from being heard.

The women in the party were often the main salespersons. Most workers—regardless of where their political sympathies lay—did not like to see women being beaten up for selling a workers newspaper, so the Stalinists had to be more careful.

When Karolyn joined the San Francisco branch of the Workers Party there were only three other women—and a baker's dozen comrades in all. She often talked about how she and another very capable woman comrade whom she admired greatly, Eloise Booth, would sell the paper on the waterfront or outside union meetings, with a sturdy umbrella in hand.

Years later, at the end of World War II, Karolyn taught another generation of women comrades how to defend the party's right to sell our press. The Stalinists were then trying to prevent us from selling outside the meetings of the National Maritime Union in New York City, too.

Karolyn and Eloise used to walk into union meetings and ask for five minutes to speak to the gathering about one or another pamphlet they were selling.



Militant
At seventieth birthday celebration, December 1980.

cial relationships. They could only be changed by collective action of the workers themselves.

One of her first waitressing jobs was at the posh Fairmont Hotel in San Francisco, where she threw herself into organizing the waiters and waitresses. She often told the story of how the strikers organized an Easter fashion show to publicize their fight. While the hotel management displayed Easter finery for the ladies of the ruling class in the swank dining room, the striking waitresses pulled up a flatbed truck in front of the hotel and put on their own fashion parade. Karolyn was one of the more striking models. And they won the strike in short order.

Soon after, she became involved in strike support work for the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, which at that time was an independent union. She had gone to a strike meeting to sell the *Militant* and the strikers invited her in. The meeting was discussing how to organize the strike and enable the workers' families to survive.

After listening for a while, Karolyn raised her hand and made a few suggestions. She talked about the successful struggles of the Teamsters organizing drive in Minnesota and encouraged the shipbuilders to follow their example: establish a women's auxiliary organization, set up a soup kitchen for the strikers' families, organize strike defense squads. She urged them to draw on the power and discipline inherent in a democratically organized rank and file. The strikers were impressed and asked Karolyn to help.

She and other comrades pitched in, and Karolyn considered that one of their greatest achievements was overcoming the resistance of the men to having their wives help out at the strike headquarters. As she explained in an educational panel discussion on women in labor history at Oberlin, Ohio, in 1974:

"The 'Ladies' Auxiliary' of the union. Today that sounds as though it was coined in the nineteenth century. But it wasn't really. In fact the idea was a militant and progressive concept that grew up as part of the innovative strike tactics of the new fighting industrial unions. It was introduced by the revolutionary socialists and communists active in the left wing of the AFL, the IWW, etc.

"While the term 'Ladies' Auxiliaries' has an odd sound to our ears today in the light of the rise of women's liberation, I can assure you, there was nothing the social register would consider very ladylike about the conduct of these militant working women's battalions."

Agricultural workers

Karolyn participated in and gained experience through several other class struggle battles in California in the 1930s. Two made a special impact on her.

In 1935 and 1936, bitter struggles were being waged to organize agricultural workers. As usual the sheriffs and

their deputies were brutally busting up strike headquarters and social centers, tear-gassing and beating up strikers and their families, and herding scabs into the fields.

The Workers Party together with the left-wing forces in the Socialist Party, especially the youth in the Young People's Socialist League, decided to do what they could to help publicize the strikers' conditions and the struggle to organize the fields.

Karolyn and others joined the picketing organized by the Mexican-based CUCOM, the United Confederation of Mexican Workers and Campesinos, on the Pales Verdes Peninsula. She was arrested along with some of the strikers, helped organize the relief kitchens and childcare centers, collected money to sustain the strike, found doctors and lawyers to help, and worked for the defense committee set up to aid victims of the strike.

In the end, few agricultural workers in California were successfully organized in the 1930s. The hidebound AFL disdained them and the new CIO was unequal to the task. But the battle waged and the unity in struggle sometimes achieved by Mexican, Filipino and other workers was an important part of the legacy of agricultural labor in California that contributed to the victories of the United Farmworkers in the 1960s and 1970s.

The fish canneries

Karolyn also took part in the drive to organize the fish cannery workers on the Pacific coast into the Seafarers International Union (SIU) after 1938.

The party had already begun to establish a sizeable maritime fraction through our work in the Sailors Union of the Pacific. When the SUP won a charter from the AFL and established the SIU, it also won jurisdiction over the AFL-organized fish packing industry on the West Coast. The proviso was that each plant had to vote separately to affiliate to the SIU.

The fish packing industry was one of the few that employed predominantly women. The women comrades in the newly formed Socialist Workers Party

Karolyn Kerry Special 'Militant' Fund

Throughout her life, Karolyn Kerry's political activity was closely identified with the *Militant* newspaper—from sales on the waterfront in San Francisco in the 1930s to her nine years as *Militant* business and circulation manager.

Comrades and friends who wish to pay tribute to this veteran socialist can do so by contributing to the Ka-

rolyn Kerry Special Militant Fund.

Chairing the fund are: Asher Harer, San Francisco; Leo Frumkin, Los Angeles; and Sarah Lovell, New York. The treasurer is Willie Mae Reid.

Contributions should be sent to: Karolyn Kerry Special Militant Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

belonged to any group. In late 1933, some acquaintances of theirs were expelled from the organization known as Friends of the Soviet Union for reading works by the Soviet revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky.

That was when Tom and Karolyn came in contact with the Communist League of America (CLA). The CLA was the small nucleus of revolutionists in the United States who had been expelled from the Communist Party for exposing and fighting against the development of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union which led to the counterrevolutionary destruction of Lenin's policies of revolutionary internationalism and workers democracy.

As was typical of Karolyn throughout her life, when she became convinced of something, she acted. At the end of 1934 she and Tom moved from Chicago to the Bay Area in California to see if life was any better on the West Coast. They went to a meeting to hear Communist Party leader Bill Dunne speak about the San Francisco general strike and massive labor battles taking place across the country.

Outside the meeting a group of young Trotskyists were selling the *Militant* and Karolyn bought a copy. Later that week Karolyn decided to join the San Francisco branch of the CLA, just before it fused with A.J. Muste's American Workers Party and became the Workers Party.

A few weeks later Tom joined too.

Karolyn was always tough and independent and knew how to take care of herself. She was not one to be intimidated. In those days, selling the *Militant* on

Often the local leadership would be so surprised at their audacity they would agree, and then she and Eloise would stand out front and sell to the workers as they left the meeting.

That kind of bold approach was typical of Karolyn and her determination to let nothing stand in the way of reaching the working class wherever possible with the ideas of revolutionary Marxism.

Organizing waitresses

The great San Francisco general strike in 1934 unionized the waterfront and helped establish the drive toward industrial organization in the U.S. In its wake, dozens of union battles were fought throughout the Bay Area. Karolyn threw herself into whatever battle came along.

In those days there were few opportunities for women to get jobs in industry. Women were generally restricted to employment considered suitable for "ladies." Karolyn, like many other working class women, spent many years of her life working as a waitress. And she was a good one. Outgoing and personable—as well as strong-willed and blunt-spoken—she was liked and respected by her customers and colleagues alike.

She was always ready to give a helping hand to other young women who were struggling to earn a living and make their way in a rough world. Wherever she worked, she made friends and introduced her co-workers to political ideas through the *Militant*. She helped them see that their problems were not primarily their own fault, but the product of capitalism and all its rotten so-



Militant
Karolyn Kerry, left, marches with Bea Hansen at New York anti-Vietnam War demonstration, March 26, 1966.

for the working class

(which had been founded at a convention on New Year's weekend 1938) were now able to be part of this major industrial fraction. They jumped into the campaign to win affiliation votes in as many plants as possible and to improve working conditions.

In San Francisco, Monterey, San Pedro, and San Diego, women comrades went to work in the plants.

In San Francisco they packed sardines. "Three down and two up. A very romantic trade," was the way Carolyn used to describe it.

One of the biggest problems was the work schedule. The women were supposed to be on call. Whenever the sardine boats came in with a catch, the whistles would blow and everyone was supposed to turn up for work. Sometimes there would only be two hours of packing to be done. Other times they would have to work straight through twelve, sixteen, or even more hours, all at straight time pay.

After refusing to go to work several times unless guaranteed four hours work, they were able to establish a four-hour minimum and a graduated pay scale for time over twelve hours.

All these experiences were part of the class struggle that helped to shape Carolyn's political consciousness and instill in her that unshakable confidence in the capacities of the working women and men of this country to rise to the challenges that history has presented us.

Off to New York

As the ruling class prepared to take the workers of this country into the second imperialist slaughter, they first turned their artillery on the most conscious and militant sectors of the workers movement—those who were uncompromisingly opposed to the wars being planned by the U.S. rulers.

Under the infamous Smith thought-control act, eighteen leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Teamsters Local 544 in Minneapolis were convicted of advocating revolutionary ideas. Prison sentences were handed down in December 1941, the day after Pearl Harbor, but various appeal procedures delayed the prison terms themselves until 1944.

Tom and Carolyn came to New York at the end of 1943 to be part of the national and professional apparatus of the party while the majority of the eighteen served their time at Sandstone Federal Penitentiary in Minnesota. That "temporary assignment," as Carolyn once referred to it, lasted for some thirty-two years. There was one brief interval between late 1953 and 1956 when Tom and Carolyn returned to Los Angeles to help lead the party in southern California following a major split in 1953.

Many of those years were the very hardest the revolutionary movement in this country had lived through. The postwar reaction, anticommunist witch-hunt, and bureaucratization of the labor movement brought declining membership and financial hardship. The enormous political pressure found its expression in splits and other political aberrations.

Only when objective conditions began to change in the late 1950s with the rise of the Black liberation struggle, the victory of the Cuban revolution, and then the struggle against the Vietnam war, did the workers movement in this country begin to show significant signs of new life.

Throughout this entire period Carolyn and Tom were both key components of the unshakable cadre of the party. When times got really rough financially, Carolyn went to work waitressing again, but for most of the years in New York she worked full-time for the party in whatever capacity she was needed.

She organized defense work for the jailed leaders of the SWP through the Civil Rights Defense Committee.

She helped raise funds to sustain Eu-



Tom Kerry (back row left) and Carolyn (back row right) with students who attended SWP leadership school in 1961-62. Students, left to right, (back row) Sid Brown, Suzanne Weiss, Mary Henderson, (front row) Peter Buch, Lynn Henderson, Ernie Tate, Al Hunter, John Chelstrom.

ropean comrades and their families after World War II.

She managed election campaigns.

She was city secretary for the New York local of the party.

In 1958 she was chosen to study at the leadership cadre school organized by the party.

She organized the summer arts and crafts program for children at Mountain Springs Camp in the New Jersey Pocos, which was an important part of sustaining the facilities that made possible the party's leadership school.

Meetings of tribute planned San Francisco

Sunday, February 22; 2 p.m. reception; 2:30 p.m. meeting.

First Unitarian Church, 1187 Franklin Street, Starr King Room.

Speakers include: Bertha Dertz, Catirino Garza, Asher Harer, Carole Seligman, Barry Sheppard, Roland Sheppard, Kwame Somburu, Sylvia Weinstein.

Los Angeles

Sunday, February 22; 2:30 p.m.

Socialist Workers Party headquarters, 2211 North Broadway.

Speakers include: Rebecca Finch, Virginia Garza, Dick Roberts, Della Rossa, Art Sharon, Judy White.

New York City

Sunday, February 22; 3 p.m. meeting followed by reception.

Marc Ballroom, 27 Union Square West (between 15 and 16 Streets).

Speakers include: Louise Armstrong, Dorothy Breitman, Frank Lovell, Sarah Lovell, Michael Maggi, Willie Mae Reid, Mary-Alice Waters.

For information on special tributes to Carolyn Kerry in other cities, contact the Socialist Workers Party branch in your area.

Messages for the meetings in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York City should be sent to: SWP National Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

She took charge of innumerable special projects such as one close to her heart, a campaign to raise money to publish a book of cartoons by Laura Gray, the *Militant's* professional cartoonist for many years. She was always bitterly disappointed that the party's resources proved too limited and the book never appeared.

From 1959 to 1967 she served as the business and circulation manager of the *Militant*, bringing to that job all her experience and enthusiasm for selling the party's press from coast to coast.

She also organized promotion work for Pathfinder Press.

Karolyn even had her own defense case. Accused of selling a dry martini without a liquor license at Mountain Spring Camp, she was framed up as one of the first victims of the government's Cointelpro-type operations. And she was acquitted.

A party leader

In every one of these assignments Carolyn led the cadres of the party in an exemplary way.

She insisted on carrying through every assignment in the most competent and professional manner. And with the least expense. She was always looking for ways to save the party a penny, to maximize what we could do with our meager resources. She was aggressive about asking friends and sympathizers of the party to give their money because

she knew there was no better way to spend it to advance the interests of the working class.

Karolyn hated sloppiness—not caring about your work or about those you were working with. She asked the maximum of everyone, but never more than she demanded of herself. She insisted on teamwork and tried to organize every assignment to draw in as many comrades as possible, to train them to lead others.

Although her political self-confidence was never equal to her own abilities, she always went out of her way to encourage younger and newer comrades, especially young women, to make them feel comfortable socially and politically at ease.

In addition to whatever national assignments Carolyn was responsible for at any time, she was always one of the most active leaders of the New York branch of the party. Demonstrations, sales of the press, forums, campaigns, defense committees—she was involved in everything and on top of it all found time to socialize with friends and comrades and was always ready to organize a good party just to have fun for an evening and get everyone to relax together.

Political inspiration

Throughout the years of full-time work for the party nationally there were three things especially that Carolyn drew strength and reinforcement from.

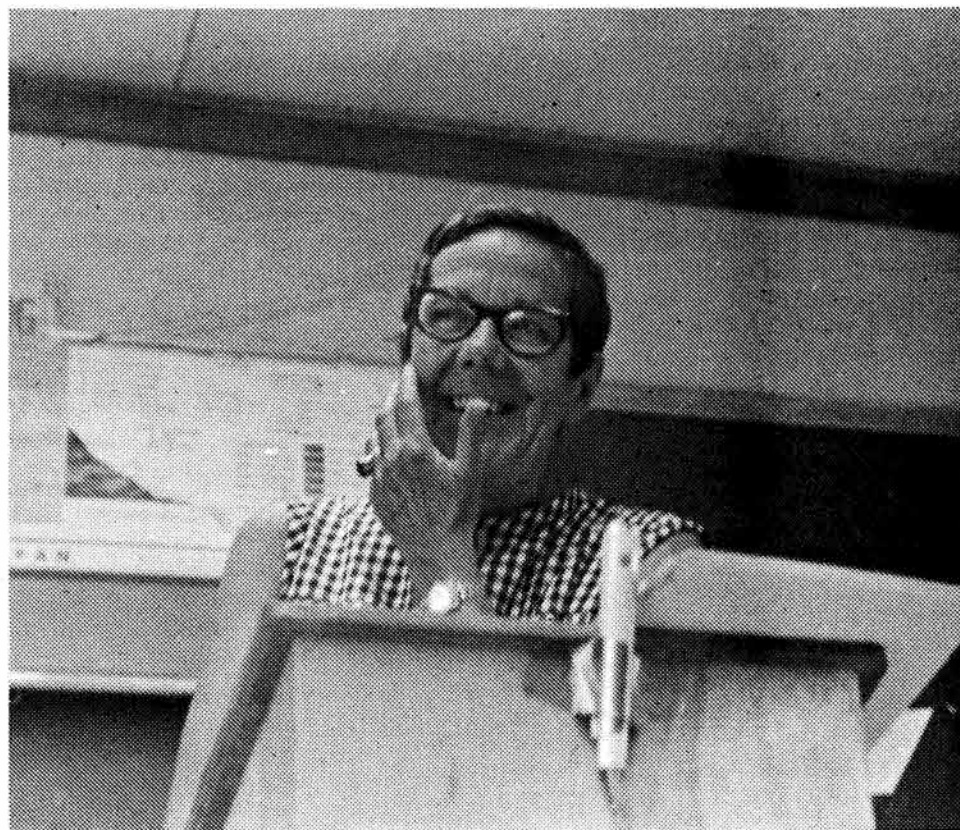
One was the rise of the civil rights movement in the South. As a Louisville native (she never did totally lose her Kentucky accent), she knew what conditions in the South were like and understood the power and revolutionary dynamic of the struggle for Black liberation.

In 1955, the bus boycott movement began in Montgomery, Alabama. When Carolyn and Tom drove across the country in 1956, returning to New York after several years in Los Angeles, they stopped in Montgomery on their way. They learned of the appeal by the organizers of the boycott for stationwagons to help sustain the struggle, so she and Tom decided to donate their car. Farrell Dobbs, the party's presidential candidate, drove it back to Montgomery as soon as they had arrived in New York and unpacked their few belongings.

For years Carolyn was a member of the NAACP and kept her membership cards from every city she lived in.

When the July 26th Movement came to power in Cuba in 1959 and the workers and peasants of that country began to take their own destiny in hand, Carolyn was the business manager of the *Militant*—a very small *Militant* of only four pages a week.

Continued on page 24



Karolyn Kerry speaking at Women in Labor History panel held at socialist educational conference in Oberlin, Ohio, August 1974.

By Fred Feldman

"Our Revolution's prestige derives from our loyalty to principles! And more important than the prestige is the confidence that all the world's revolutionaries must have that Cuba can always be counted on. . . .

"Principles are not negotiable. There are people in the world who negotiate with principles, but Cuba will never negotiate with principles! And we're sure that neither this nor future generations will ever negotiate with their principles! . . .

"Without histrionics of any kind, we would prefer a thousand times over to die than to surrender! We will not make a single concession to imperialism! We will not renounce a single one of our principles!"

These words summed up the message of the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba. Fidel Castro spoke them to one million Cubans who gathered in Havana's Plaza de la Revolución December 20 to hail the successful completion of the congress and to learn of its main decisions.

The congress and the preparations for it were a center of discussion and attention in Cuba for months. 1980 was declared the "Year of the Second Congress." And it was a year of which Fidel Castro could say: "As far as mass mobilization in our capital is concerned, 1980 has been the most extraordinary year ever."

The congress was an international event. In addition to the 1,772 delegates, delegations from some 150 Communist parties, liberation movements, and other organizations from around the world were present.

There was good reason for all this attention. The congress sought to sum up the lessons of two of the most eventful years in the history of the Cuban revolution—years in which the Caribbean and Central America moved to the forefront of international politics—and to lay the groundwork for further steps forward for Cuba and the world revolution.

The congress showed how a revolutionary current, deeply rooted in the needs and experiences of the Cuban workers and peasants, is responding to big shifts in world and regional politics over the last half decade. It showed how this current has deepened its active internationalism in response to these events.

Above all, the congress was shaped by the extension of the socialist revolution to Nicaragua and Grenada, and the deepening of the liberation struggles in El Salvador and Guatemala—and of the Cuban revolution itself.

The congress evaluated the economic and political impact of the worldwide stagnation and inflation of the international capitalist system on the semicolonies, the imperialist powers, and the workers states.

It responded to the emergence of the working class as the decisive factor in anti-imperialist and anticapitalist struggles—not only in the imperialist countries, but in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This is a product of the growth of industry, urbanization, and the working class in these countries, as well as a consequence of economic crisis. This shift was most vividly demonstrated in the urban insurrections that brought down the shah of Iran and Somoza in Nicaragua.

The congress charted a course for Cuba based on a Marxist evaluation of the fundamental shift in the world relationship of class forces that was marked by the U.S. defeat in Vietnam and by the upsurge of struggles in the semicolonial world that this helped inspire.

Solidarity at any cost

The congress expressed the determination of Cuba's leaders to maintain their active solidarity with the struggles in Central America and the Caribbean whatever the cost. It showed their readiness to seize openings to extend the socialist revolution, and to learn lessons from the upheavals shaking the region.

The congress responded to threats and aggressive moves by Washington—moves begun by the Carter administration, which Reagan has pledged to continue and escalate—by proposing that the Cuban workers and farmers be organized and armed in territorial militias to defend the country. The congress warned that U.S. military intervention in El Salvador, Nicaragua, or Guatemala would lead to a new and more massive Vietnam.

The congress evaluated the deepening of the internationalism and class consciousness of the Cuban masses, as a result of the new upsurge and gains of the revolution in 1980.

It projected a course aimed at deepening this process, increasing workers control and workers democracy, and forging closer links to the masses. First and foremost, it concluded, this requires further proletarianization of the ranks and leadership of the party, and the strengthening of the mass organizations.

And it proposed to continue the campaign against the bureaucratic deformations and privileges that inevitably appear in an economically underdeveloped

workers state at the doorstep of the mightiest imperialist power on earth.

Collective product

The party's evaluation of the political situation, as well as its tasks and perspectives, were laid out in the lengthy "Main Report," delivered at the opening session December 17 by Fidel Castro, in his capacity as first secretary of the Central Committee. The report was a collective product, reflecting discussions in the Political Bureau and Central Committee of the party. Its fundamental ideas had been discussed over the year in all the local units of the party.

The report won unanimous approval the following day from the delegates.

The report was divided into nine sections. The first was Cuba's socioeconomic development. Here, advances and problems in such varied fields as sugar production, light industry, public health, education, and economic planning were detailed.

The goals of the next five year plan—the product of

Cuba has focused its efforts to help extend the revolution. The opening of socialist revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada provided the Cuban working people and their leaders with inspiring confirmation of the correctness of their policies of internationalism and revolutionary solidarity.

In Nicaragua and Grenada insurrections based on the urban proletariat have brought workers and farmers governments to power which collaborate closely with the Cuban government. And in El Salvador and Guatemala, workers and farmers are fighting arms in hand to establish similar regimes.

In his December 20 speech in Havana, Castro pointed to the proletarian-led socialist revolutions in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada as the road to throw off imperialist domination—as examples for all Latin America.

"The peoples of the world are not so weak today," he declared, "and I believe that the day when all the peoples of Latin America are as willing to defend their country as Cuba is to defend itself, as willing as

Cuban CP Congress defies



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an extensive discussion, including in the Assemblies of People's Power—were outlined.

For the years 1981-85, the report stated:

While setting modest goals, the plan provides for major improvements in the standard of living, and economic development as well. In view of the present world situation of economic crisis and the fact that ours is an underdeveloped country subjected to economic blockade and U.S. imperialist aggression, an average annual growth rate of 5 percent will undoubtedly constitute a great victory. [The Main Report and the December 20 rally speech appeared in the December 28, 1980 English-language weekly *Granma*.]

"The main goal of our country's socioeconomic development," Castro told the delegates, "is to finish creating the technical-material base for socialism. . . ."

Next the work of the armed forces and the Ministry of the Interior were taken up. And projections were made for the mass organizations—the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs), the unions, the Federation of Cuban Women (FMC), the National Association of Small Farmers (ANAP), and others.

The development of the youth movement, the party, and the struggle to preserve and strengthen Marxist-Leninist ideology in Cuba were the subject of the next sections.

The report concluded with an estimate of the world economic situation, and a presentation of Cuba's foreign policy.

It is in Central America and the Caribbean that

Nicaragua is, as willing as Grenada is, imperialist domination in this hemisphere will disappear."

The report took note of the rising combativity of the urban working class and its allies, linking this to a general crisis of imperialist domination:

The readiness of the masses to fight—which has reached unprecedented levels—should be especially underscored. The fact that revolutionary national liberation movements with a strong social content are on the rise and that mass movements in various countries reach new heights, indicates that the system of imperialist and oligarchic domination in this region is going through a more and more profound crisis; while at the same time revealing the maturity reached by the movement of the workers, peasants, youth, women and all other sections of the population, now led by experienced vanguards.

Special stress was placed on the growing role of unions.

During the period we are now analyzing, the Latin-American working class clearly showed that it was both mature and strong, and that its trade union movement is powerful. In Peru, Ecuador and Colombia, strikes of unprecedented magnitude took place; and the workers of Argentina have continued their struggle.

Washington fights for empire

Washington has not reacted passively to the challenge posed to its power to exploit and plunder by the revolutions in Grenada and Nicaragua, the struggle in El Salvador and Guatemala, and Cuba's support for them. Castro told the delegates:

U.S. imperialism, which has not resigned itself to accepting the independent democratic social transformations that some Latin-American and Caribbean peoples are carrying out, has reacted to the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua and the revolutionary insurgency in El Salvador with an arrogant attempt to reaffirm its rule in Central America and the Caribbean, an area in which it brazenly declares it has a special interest."

Aggressive moves and threats have multiplied. Under Carter, U.S. military "advisers" were sent to help the murderous Salvadoran junta hang on to power, and, in his final days in the White House, Carter renewed major military assistance to the regime. Now Reagan is promising to further escalate U.S. military support, while suspending further disbursements of the meager loans promised Nicaragua as a warning to any government that backs the Salvadoran people. Preparations are being stepped up for large-scale, U.S.-backed military intervention by the Guatemalan and Honduran regimes.

Beginning with Carter's scare campaign about the soviet brigade in Cuba in mid-1979, anti-Cuba pro-

.S. threats

is te rkers exercise utionary r'

is who joined March of the Fighting People May 17.
' free man!'

aganda and actions rose steadily. The flap over the brigade was followed by: the establishment of a Caribbean military command in Florida; the holding of the Solid Shield '80 naval exercises; a growing permanent U.S. military presence in the Caribbean; and even the threat, which Washington was forced to back down from, of a mock invasion of Cuba at the U.S.-occupied Guantánamo naval base, on Cuban soil.

Washington has also covered up for the activities of anti-Cuban assassins. The assassination of a Cuban United Nations official last year—the first such assassination in the history of the United Nations—was a clear warning of more to come.

No retreat by Cubans

In a speech to the National Assembly of People's Power December 27, Castro told the elected delegates and the Cuban people that they can expect this trend of increasing pressure from U.S. imperialism to continue under the Reagan administration:

... I do believe that the policy of that administration will be hard-line, very hard-line. In fact I think it will be openly interventionist regarding Latin America, and will also try to be the same regarding Cuba, since they consider this hemisphere their private property. [The December 28 speech appeared in the January 11, 1981, weekly *Granma*.]

The CP congress and subsequent speeches by Castro featured references to the "missile crisis" of 1962, when the Cuban people calmly mobilized to face a

U.S. naval blockade and the possibility of nuclear annihilation rather than give up their revolutionary convictions.

One thing was made clear beyond any mistake. Cuba will not be intimidated by Washington's threats. Cuba will not give up its internationalist course in Central America, Africa, or anywhere else. As Castro told the December 20 rally, "Cuba can always be counted on."

Organizing militias

The organization of Territorial Troop Militias—regional armed units made up of workers, farmers, and young people—was an important theme of the congress. Castro first called for their formation on May 1, 1980, in response to the Carter administration's anti-Cuba moves. In the report, Castro said:

We will not rest until every Cuban who wants to defend his neighborhood, his municipality, his work center and his country—block by block, inch by inch—has a rifle, a grenade or a mine and has been given the necessary training for carrying out his sacred duty of defending his homeland to the death.

"Our country must become a hard nut for the Yankee imperialists to crack and a deadly thorn in their side if they attempt an aggression," Castro declared.

In the same spirit, the National Assembly of People's Power declared 1981 to be the "Year of the 20th Anniversary of Playa Girón." This was the U.S.-organized Bay of Pigs invasion carried out in 1961 by the Kennedy administration. It was defeated by the mobilization of millions of Cubans through the militias and Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs).

'No longer alone'

Revolutionary advances in the Caribbean and Central America inevitably spurred a further upsurge of the Cuban masses as well. The Cuban people made the first socialist revolution in the Americas and have held out for more than two decades on the doorstep of the mightiest imperialist power.

It would be hard to overestimate the impact on millions of Cuban workers and farmers of the realization that "we are no longer alone"—as Castro put it following the Sandinista victory in July 1979.

The Main Report describes some of the consequences:

Our people's communist and internationalist consciousness has undoubtedly been increased in recent years. . . .

The People's Marches—an outpouring in response to the acts of provocation at the Peruvian and Venezuelan embassies, to the Mariel flotilla and to the Yankee military threats—will go down in history.

Never before have there been such huge mass mobilizations in our homeland.

This was a reference to the April 19, 1980, march of more than 1 million people past the Peruvian embassy, where thousands of would-be emigrants had gathered and which for a time was the center of an imperialist-inspired anti-Cuba propaganda campaign; the May Day rally in Havana, attended by 1.5 million people; and the May 17 "March of the Fighting People," held in cities across the country, in which more than 5 million of Cuba's 10 million people participated. All these in the space of one month.

Castro described how a new generation had "won their first revolutionary laurels in the vanguard of this great political and ideological battle. . . . The masses were tempered and tremendously strengthened in this struggle."

Meaning of emigration

While millions of Cubans were fired with enthusiasm by the extension of the socialist revolution, and defiant in face of imperialist threats, this was not true of everyone.

Economic difficulties and the relentless pressure of imperialism—including the attractive power of its vastly greater wealth and higher standard of living—produced polarization. This was a reflection in Cuba of the class polarization on a world scale between those attracted by the rise of working-class struggles, and others pulled by imperialism's drive to roll them back.

On one side in Cuba were marching millions who were preparing for the impending battles. On the other side were those who flinched before this prospect and sought an easy way out via the port of Mariel—petty criminals, black marketeers, a large number of nonrevolutionary Cubans with relatives in the United States, and a thin layer of conservative, privilege-hungry party and government officials.

The Main Report explained:

In spite of the tremendous efforts the Revolution has made to promote socioeconomic development—some social disgrace from the past still remains: a total lack of national feeling on the part of some, combined with the fact that the socioeconomic conditions in our developing country still produce some decadent, antisocial, lumpen elements that are receptive to imperialist enticements and ideas.

For these reasons, a bitter ideological battle has been waged by our imperialist enemy and the Cuban Revolution—a struggle that has been and will continue to be fought

not only in the realm of revolutionary and political ideas but also in the sphere of our people's national feelings. Imperialism refuses to resign itself to a revolutionary, socialist Cuba. . . .

Castro told the delegates that the "clean sweep" of deserters was not yet over. The port at Mariel could be reopened, he warned, since Washington is continuing to block legal departures from Cuba.

"The construction of socialism as a completely free and voluntary task is still a principle of our revolutionary process," he declared. "It implies freedom of emigration."

Bureaucratic dangers

The upsurge dealt a blow to bureaucratic tendencies that were beginning to take root in some parts of Cuba's administrative apparatus.

A degree of social differentiation and inequality is inevitable in an economically underdeveloped and relatively isolated workers state. For instance, some of the recent measures that have been necessary in Cuba to spur productivity and raise living standards—such as greater pay incentives—will tend to increase income differentials among workers and farmers.

The Cuban leaders, who frankly acknowledge the dangers involved, are seeking to limit this tendency by introducing pay increases for the lowest-paid workers and dropping high "historic wages" for some better-off workers.

These conditions make it possible for some individuals and groups in the state administration to seek privileges and nourish favoritism. Such parasitic layers unfailingly try to suppress the initiative of the workers and farmers, which threatens their attempt to accumulate and maintain privileges. They are the least enthusiastic about using Cuban resources and personnel to aid other countries. Such bureaucrats inevitably come to yearn for an end to revolutionary upheaval and a live-and-let-live agreement with imperialism at the expense of the world revolution. They hope that such an agreement will help secure their privileged status.

According to the Main Report, signs of this development had appeared in Cuba:

There were increasing signs that the spirit of austerity was flagging, that a softening-up process was going on in which some people tended to let things slide, pursue privileges, make accommodations and take other attitudes, while work discipline dropped. Our worst enemies could not have done us more damage.

These dangers, Castro told the delegates, "even affected the Party to a certain extent. In some places, the general attitude was formal, conformist and basically petit bourgeois in the sense of avoiding problems with everybody—as if the Revolution itself were not always trying to straighten out problems involving injustice and poor work."

This posed a question for the leaders of the revolution: "Was our Revolution beginning to degenerate on our imperialist enemy's doorstep? Was that an inexorable law for any revolution in power? Under no circumstances could such a thing be permitted."

Most powerful weapon

From the beginning of the Cuban revolution, the Castro leadership has relied on the workers and small farmers to combat these tendencies. Unlike the Soviet Union—where the bureaucratic currents completely expropriated political power from the workers after Lenin's death in 1924 and established themselves as a counterrevolutionary governing caste—political power in Cuba has remained in the hands of the workers and farmers.

In the 1960s, the Castro leadership fought and defeated a Stalinist current led by Aníbal Escalante, which sought to introduce bureaucratic methods and opposed an internationalist foreign policy.

After the failure of the campaign to harvest 10 million tons of sugar cane in 1970, the leadership drew the conclusion that the government's late recognition of the extent of the shortfall must result from a gap in its links with the Cuban masses, who were undoubtedly aware of big problems much earlier in the harvest. The Cuban leaders took steps to institutionalize the mass participation that has always been the foundation of the revolution, and to bring order into the economy.

Trade-union elections were held and regularized. The mass organizations were strengthened and their decision-making role was increased. And municipalities elected Assemblies of People's Power, which in turn elected provincial and national assemblies. "The bodies of People's Power created the best possible conditions for the exercise of socialist democracy, the highest form of democracy, by institutionally facilitating the masses' participation in governing society, at both the local and national levels," Castro told the delegates.

In the last months of 1979, Raúl Castro made a series of speeches in which he cited lax and privilege-hungry administrators as a contributing factor in Cu-

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ba's economic difficulties. He took aim at the "faint-hearted," who fear the consequences of internationalism and defiance of imperialist threats.

But the popular upsurge of 1980 provided the revolutionary leadership with the most powerful weapon, together with further extension of the socialist revolution, against bureaucratic tendencies: *the mobilization of a class-conscious and internationalist working class.*

This was explained in the report to the congress:

We consider the battle that the masses waged last April and May to be one of the most important political, ideological and moral victories the Revolution has won in its entire history. . . .

It is significant that this struggle had positive repercussions in the national effort to eradicate a series of ideological problems that had been gaining ground in this period.

The people's repudiation of the scum [the lumpen, bureaucrats, and others who joined the emigration—IP] also meant that they repudiated undisciplined behavior, sponging, accommodation, negligence, and other such negative attitudes. The position the people took, coupled with the political, legal, wage and administrative measures adopted during the past months, has led to a much greater demand for higher standards and more order in our society. Naturally, this campaign is not won in a day.

The mass actions of the Cuban proletariat in 1980 were a measure of its growing social power, class consciousness, and fighting spirit—a phenomenon increasingly noticeable throughout the world. It is this class which provides the most solid base of support for internationalist policies and the struggle against bureaucratic deformations, just as advances in the economy depend in the last analysis on their organization, consciousness, and initiative.

Proletarianization

The Castro leadership team has responded to the changes in the Cuban revolution—and to the growing political weight of the proletariat throughout Latin America—with an acceleration of its drive to proletarianize the party and its leadership.

"The most important, the most revolutionary thing about this Congress," Castro told a mass rally that followed it, "was the composition of our Central Committee. The leadership of our Party was given a strong dose of worker cadres, a strong dose of women, and a strong dose of internationalist fighters."

"We must take account," he said at the December 20 rally, "that the number of workers in our Party has almost tripled, which means that our Party has become more proletarian and, therefore, more Marxist-Leninist and more revolutionary."

The Main Report explained that party members "who are directly linked to production and services now make up 47.3 percent of the total membership, compared to 36.3 percent of the total December 1975." It also noted an increase in the percentage of women members from 14.1 percent in 1975 to 19.1 percent today.

In the Union of Young Communists (UJC), the percentage of women members rose from 30 percent in 1975 to 41.8 percent today, and the percentage of women among its full-time cadres rose from 5.3 percent to 14.3 percent. Fidel noted that these levels were still far from adequate.

Women leaders have been playing a stronger role in the mass organizations as well, the report continued. It reported that in trade-union elections, 42.7 percent of local leaders and 32.6 percent of executive committee members elected were women.

The composition of the Political Bureau, which leads the party between sessions of the Central Committee, was adjusted in the same direction by adding leaders of the mass organizations—the unions, the National Association of Small Farmers, the Federation of Cuban Women, and the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution. Younger leaders, tested by the new struggles in Cuba, are being brought forward.

'Vanguard of vanguard people'

The report stressed that this shift in the party's composition, accompanied by doubling of its membership to 434,000 in five years, had been accomplished without lowering its political standards: "We have grown well. We have not sacrificed—nor will we ever sacrifice—quality for quantity."

The changes in the Communist Party of Cuba have tended to link it more closely to the revolutionary attitudes of its own mass base and its supporters among Cuba's proletarians and working peasants.

It enables the party to function more effectively in forging the revolutionary unity of the broad masses of workers around the practice of revolutionary internationalism and the ideas of Marxism. It has strengthened the hegemony of the revolutionary Marxist current not only inside the party, but among the working masses. The sentiments of militant internationalism and identification with Marxism among millions of Cubans, as well as the conviction of masses of workers and farmers that the Communist

Party is *their* party, are historic conquests of the Cuban revolution.

In the Main Report, Castro expressed the confidence that this process is inspiring in the leadership. No party can appoint itself the vanguard, he said, repeating a theme he has explained many times.

We will be the vanguard not because of what we think of ourselves but because of what the people think of us. It is a difficult but worthy and stimulating task to be the vanguard of a vanguard people, to be Communists in a country of Communists. The deepest, most permanent link with the masses has been, is and will always be the guiding force of our Party.

Principled policy

Castro concluded the Main Report with an extensive discussion of Cuba's foreign policy. The fundamental principle of this policy was stated by Castro in his report to the first party congress in 1975:

"Cuba's foreign policy has, as its starting point, the subordination of Cuban positions to the international needs of the struggle for socialism and for the national liberation of the peoples."

The Cuban leaders recognized the victorious march of the Vietnamese liberation fighters into Saigon as marking an historic shift in the world relationship of class forces in favor of the workers and oppressed nations.

An important element in this victory, noted by Castro at the 1975 congress, were developments in the heartland of imperialism itself:

The war against the Vietnamese people, which began

On occasion, the imperialists speak condescendingly about their being willing to lift the blockade, willing to spare our lives, if we stopped being internationalists, if we withdrew our fighters from Angola and Ethiopia, (SHOUTS OF "NO!" AND "CUBA SI, YANKEES NO!" AND APPLAUSE) if we severed our close ties with the Soviet Union. (SHOUTS OF "NO!") Needless to say, for us it is neither a pleasure nor a whim to have thousands of our fighters in other lands. However, the day that we call back a single man—a single one—it will be because he's no longer needed or because of an agreement between the governments of those countries and us (APPLAUSE) but never as a concession to imperialism!

The Cubans' refusal to sacrifice internationalism has also led to tension with the French government, which is worried about the growing independence struggles in its Caribbean colonies of Martinique and Guadeloupe. "There is high level communication with France, and significant economic exchanges have taken place," Castro reported. "The plenitude of those relations, however, has been hindered because the principled stands of the Cuban Revolution on colonial remnants in Latin America have not been understood by certain circles in France."

Cuban policy in Africa has sought to strengthen and advance anti-imperialist struggles and social transformations on the continent. From this standpoint, the Main Report devotes special attention to developments in Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe.

Internationalist workers

Cuba's aid to oppressed nations has not been prim-

'Never before have there been such huge mass mobilizations in our homeland.'



Millions of Cubans mobilized to defend revolution when the imperialists organized a propaganda campaign around would-be emigrants who had gathered in the Peruvian embassy. 'Escoria' means scum, the Cuban people's characterization of many of the recent emigrants.

with massive support in the United States, soon generated an anti-imperialist and anti-war conscience at the US universities, among the country's most prominent circles, and even in ever-growing sections of a working class duped by the advantages of the ruthless exploitation of other countries. . . . [First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1976), p. 234.]

The Cuban leaders seized the opening to foster anti-imperialist struggles, stymie imperialist attempts to regain the offensive, and to encourage the extension of the socialist revolution.

Africa

At the time of the First Congress, thousands of Cuban soldiers were already in Angola, helping the newly independent government beat back a U.S.-supported South African invasion.

Cuban troops remain in Angola to help train the country's defense forces, and to help fend off further South African intrusions. The presence of Cuban troops has inspired liberation fighters throughout southern Africa. It puts heavy pressure on Washington and the racist regime in South Africa to yield ground in Zimbabwe and Namibia. The victory of the Angolan people helped set off a new wave of mass antiracist struggles in South Africa itself, especially among urban youth and industrial workers.

At the end of 1977 Cuban troops went to Ethiopia, again at the invitation of the government, to help defend a deepgoing social revolution against an invasion by the Somali government of Siad Barre. This was a blow to Washington's efforts to destabilize the revolution.

More than 100,000 Cuban soldiers, all volunteers, have now served in Africa, Castro told the Second Congress.

Washington makes removal of Cuban troops from Africa a condition for diplomatic and economic relations. Castro responded at the December 20 rally:

arily military. The Main Report to the Second Congress stated that some 20,000 Cuban construction workers, 11,000 industrial and agricultural specialists, 2,500 health workers, and 3,500 teachers are helping the peoples of countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The dedication of these volunteers, together with the example of a country that uses its resources to help others—with no strings attached—has inspired admiration for the Cuban revolution. The popularity of socialism has been reinforced as information spreads throughout the semicolonial world of the material and cultural gains scored by the Cuban revolution.

Cuba's actions have raised its prestige in the group called the Nonaligned movement. This record has helped lay the groundwork for the Cuban leaders to play a bigger role in this organization of governments from countries oppressed by imperialism. Today, Cuba is the chair of the Nonaligned movement.

Activity in this body is part of Cuba's policy, described in the report, of joining forces "with all those patriotic governments and anti-imperialist movements that in one way or another challenge Washington's domination."

Cuba's leaders place a high priority on combating the devastating effects of the world capitalist crisis on the semicolonial peoples, already plundered and superexploited by the imperialist metropolises.

Economic catastrophe

The Main Report describes how stagflation and growing unemployment in the economies of North America, Western Europe, and Japan have meant ruin for the poor nations—ever-higher prices for imports as compared to exports, soaring unemployment, spreading hunger, and leapfrogging indebtedness at extortionate interest rates to imperialist bankers.

The imperialists use these massive debts, which

have reached \$500 billion for all underdeveloped countries, to impose severe austerity programs that accelerate the decline in living standards, as in Zaïre and Peru. Heads of state who resist such demands face destabilization programs, like the one that helped oust the Manley government in Jamaica late last year.

This crisis hits the workers states, too. Social ownership, the planned use of the means of production, and a state monopoly of foreign trade make it possible to prevent human catastrophes on the scale of those occurring today in Africa, for instance. But the workers states are compelled to import goods from imperialist countries at inflated prices, while exports lag and loans and other assistance become harder to obtain.

Castro told the party congress that Cuba's economic growth rate had fallen to an average of 4 percent annually since 1975, from the 10 percent level reached during the 1970-75 period. A drop had been foreseen by the First Congress, which had set a goal of 6 percent annual growth.

Over this period, Cuba's buying power was reduced by the rising prices of commodities that it must import, and by the sagging world market price of its main export—sugar—during much of this time.

The crisis in the countries dominated by world imperialism is built into their social and economic structure, and these problems are horribly exacerbated by the current state of world capitalism. According to the Main Report, alleviating the results of this situation requires a massive shift of resources from the imperialist metropolises to the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. At the United Nations on October 12, 1979, he proposed providing \$300 billion in development aid over a ten-year period. Castro told the congress that this just demand has not attracted support in imperialist circles. But he explained that it had performed a progressive political role. Castro said:

The struggle for a new international economic order, however, has had the positive result of uniting the underdeveloped countries in a single front—a phenomenon that, in view of their tremendous economic, political and social heterogeneity can only be explained on the basis of generalized contradiction between them and imperialism, a contradiction that included the governments of countries that are allies of imperialism on the periphery of the underdeveloped, dependent world but are no longer ready to accept unchanged the system of inequality and exploitation to which the monopolies of the capitalist powers subject them.

The polarization set off by the economic crisis can be seen in the semicolonial world. At the congress, Castro selected the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) as an example of "a veritable crisis of neocolonialism" triggered by the economic crisis.

Castro pointed out that the resources gained by the OPEC countries through increased oil prices, far from being primarily absorbed for development of the oil-producing countries themselves, had been "mainly sent to the developed capitalist countries." Imperialist banks made billions by lending this money at high interest to desperate semicolonial countries. As a result, the impact of oil price hikes on the imperialist rulers has been cushioned, while the non-oil-producing countries felt the full brunt of the price increase.

Castro has proposed that the oil-producing states charge a lower price to the poor nations, and provide them with substantial economic aid, instead of cycling their money through imperialist financial institutions.

At the same time he reaffirmed at the congress the progressive character of the OPEC governments' assertion of their right to control their oil, "defending the price of their basic export product and changing the rules of the imperialist game in a key sector."

Nonaligned movement

Within the Nonaligned movement, the Cuban government has fought for firm anti-imperialist stands on key political questions, drawing a line of demarcation between those governments that will support these positions and those that most abjectly knuckle under to the policies of Washington and other capitalist powers.

At the 1979 Nonaligned conference in Havana, for example, the Cubans waged a struggle, against substantial organized opposition, to condemn the Camp David Mideast accords, withdraw recognition to the Pol Pot forces in Kampuchea, and support the struggle of freedom fighters in Western Sahara. The decisions that came out of the Havana conference were the most stinging rebuke to Washington ever to come out of a major conference of world governments, including previous conferences of the Nonaligned movement.

The Cuban leaders seek to collaborate most closely with several categories of governments among the Nonaligned (some of the categories overlap). The Cubans, for example, maintain good diplomatic relations with governments such as that in Mexico, which

have shown their willingness to defy Washington's international campaign to quarantine the Cuban revolution.

Special attention is also paid to governments brought to power by deep revolutionary mass mobilizations, as in Ethiopia and Iran. In the Main Report, Castro hailed the "development of a clearly anti-imperialist people's process" in Iran.

Another category is those governments embroiled in sharp conflicts with imperialism such as Syria, Libya, and Angola.

And there are those nationalist governments in Africa and elsewhere that have carried out some progressive social measures and claim to be constructing socialism. The governments of Madagascar, Benin, and Congo (Brazzaville) are among these.

The Cubans clearly look at all these governments in a different light from revolutionary Nicaragua and Grenada, however, where mass-based socialist revolutions are unfolding under Marxist leaderships. In the opening paragraphs of the Main Report to the congress, Castro pointed to the underlying class considerations that set apart revolutionary leaderships such as these:

We cannot deny that anyone who struggles to obtain his homeland's independence from a colonial or neocolonial power or for freedom from tyranny is a revolutionary, but there is only one higher way of being a revolutionary in today's world—that of being a Communist, because Communists embody the idea of independence, freedom, true justice, equality among men and, what is more, internationalism—that is, brotherhood, solidarity and cooperation among all the peoples and nations in the world.

'The construction of socialism as a completely free and voluntary task is still a principle of our revolutionary process. It implies freedom of emigration.'

In the section of the report on Cuban foreign policy, Castro examined the 1980 elections in the United States:

The November 4 election in the United States was especially significant, as it took place in the midst of the U.S. economic disaster . . . involving massive unemployment, especially among blacks and young people; a lower real income for all U.S. workers due to runaway inflation; and a desire for political change among many people, while others simply stayed away from the polls.

The international situation, in which the United States has continued to lose hegemony and prestige, cleverly exploited by the contending political parties; the people's frustration and skepticism about badly managed situations such as that of the hostages in Iran, who were not freed in the end, also helped defeat the Carter administration.

In a country that prides itself on its "representative democracy," 47.1 percent of the eligible voters stayed away from the polls. The Republican candidate was elected by 26.7 percent of the total number of eligible voters.

Thus, the report avoids the mistake of many radicals who view Reagan's election as proof of an overall shift to the right by the American people. In fact, Castro pointed to signs of discontent and polarization that could lead to sharper class struggles in the future.

The report clearly expressed concern, however, that the Reagan White House will push harder along a militaristic course than the Carter administration:

Reagan's electoral triumph is a right-wing victory that signifies a clear move in that direction by an important sector of U.S. public opinion. This is confirmed by the defeat of the most liberal senators, including some who were firm advocates of ratifying the SALT II Treaty. The apparent national backing that the election returns gave Reagan opens up the possibility that he may throw caution to the winds and return to his earlier aggressiveness in supporting the most reactionary plans in the Republican Party platform.

The report foresaw difficulties for Reagan:

In our opinion, Reagan will be unable to solve any of the main problems affecting the United States: inflation, unemployment, energy crisis, economic recession, vice, drugs, violence, crimes, corruption, and his ideas on foreign policy endanger world peace.

Castro also suggested that such war moves in Central America or the Caribbean could again inspire mass antiwar sentiment and action in the United States, particularly given the fierce resistance any

intervention would meet from the toilers of the region:

If Yankee marines or intervention forces land in Central America, the people of the United States will again witness the painful scene of their soldiers' coffins arriving home. . . . The blame will fall on those who refuse to acknowledge the lessons of history and the irreversible changes that have taken place in the world.

Class tensions in Europe

In his report to the National Assembly of People's Power December 27, Castro also took note of prospects for deepening class conflicts in Europe. These could help stay the hand of the imperialist warmakers and create leeway for the further extension of the socialist revolution. He cited the following passages, among others, from an Agence France-Presse dispatch about business conditions and political moods in Europe.

Most of the European countries will close the year's balance with frankly negative results in terms of inflation and with a balance of payments deficit that reached record levels.

The prospects for the reappearance of a legion of unemployed brought back memories of the specter of hunger and poverty that hovered over Europe in the years preceding the two world wars.

This situation, which is a source of foreseeable social tension that could spread like wildfire, may become aggravated if some experts' predictions of a new rise in oil prices are confirmed.

In the Main Report, Castro discussed the increased activity in Latin America of the social-democratic Socialist International (SI), mainly based in Western Europe.

Actions of Social Democrats

The Socialist International has taken a public stand of support to the Government of National Reconstruction in Nicaragua and to the FSLN, as well as to the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador. Grenada's New Jewel Movement was admitted to membership in the SI at the end of 1980.

Leaders of the SI, such as Willy Brandt of Germany and Joop den Uyl of the Netherlands, have been among the most prominent European figures claiming to favor a substantial shift of resources from the industrialized countries to the semicolonial world.

The Second Congress of the Cuban Communist Party was attended by official delegations from the social-democratic parties of France, Denmark, Sweden, Belgium, Spain, and the British Labour Party.

Castro noted that a number of "old bourgeois and oligarchic Latin-American parties" such as Democratic Action (AD) in Venezuela and the Peoples Revolutionary American Alliance (APRA) in Peru have joined the Socialist International.

While noting the irreconcilable differences that separate revolutionary socialists from social democracy, Castro held that the recent activity of social democracy in Latin America "shows a positive balance. They join forces and extend the battlefield against U.S. imperialist domination in Latin America."

Glaring contrasts

Poland is explicitly mentioned in only a few paragraphs of the section on foreign policy in the Main Report.

Other parts of the report, however, indicate the impact that the massive uprising of the Polish workers has had on the Cuban leaders. They are evidently devoting considerable thought to this question.

While the Main Report makes the serious mistake of evaluating recent events in Poland as a success for reaction, conclusions drawn by the Cuban leaders place them sharply at variance with the bureaucratic castes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Cubans, party members and nonmembers alike, cannot help but be struck by the differences between Poland and Cuba.

In Cuba, the congress of the Communist Party inspired a mobilization of 1 million people to hail it. In Poland, the working masses have nothing but scorn for the Communist Party. They view it as the enemy.

In Cuba last year, millions took to the streets to defend their revolution and support the policies of the revolutionary government against the threats and slanders of imperialism.

In Poland, the government is on a collision course with millions of workers, while the imperialist media and politicians have a propaganda field day.

In the Main Report, Castro indicated why such events are impossible in a country such as Cuba where a revolutionary proletarian leadership is in power.

"Is socialism in any given country irreversible or not?" he asked.

"It is utterly irreversible if principles are applied. We are at Yankee imperialism's doorstep, yet we do not fear its power, do not dream of its wealth, do not accept its ideology and are not destabilized by its actions."

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He summarized some of those principles:

Ours is a state of workers who exercise revolutionary power. The Party and its members must always be solidly, closely and deeply linked to the masses. . . .

The party exists through and for the people. Bureaucratic and petit-bourgeois attitudes are completely alien to its principles. . . .

Castro continued:

Authoritarianism, demagoguery, a know-it-all attitude, vanity, and irresponsibility are inconceivable in Communists, for they should always have a fraternal and humane attitude toward others and—especially—an internationalist spirit that, while including deep-rooted patriotism, is based on an understanding that their homeland is more important than any individual and that mankind is the most important of all.

If a Communist Party in power commits or tolerates serious errors of principle, those errors will prove very costly to the revolutionary process—as history has shown. Betrayals have done great damage to the world revolutionary movement.

Cuba as alternative

The target of these admonitions was certainly not only the cadres of the Cuban Communist Party, but the Soviet and East European regimes where, as Castro puts it, "circumstances have hardly been propitious for spreading socialist ideas."

Castro returned to this subject December 27:

When problems arise somewhere, it's not because Marxism-Leninism doesn't have invincible force, it's because the principles of Marxism-Leninism haven't been correctly applied. . . .

The fact that our country is located near the United States—a country which is so rich and powerful and which exerted such influence for such a long time on our country and our people—the fact that now they encounter a barrier like Cuba, a rock like Cuba, can only be understood in the light of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The role of the Party, its links with the masses, the correct application of these principles, the absence of favoritism, acting fairly, giving priority to merit, collective leadership, democratic centralism, honesty, awareness, discipline, plus the extraordinary social and humane content of our work, the work of the Revolution: this is what has given our Revolution such a tremendous strength. There's no mystery about that.

"Although they didn't explicitly say so," Castro continued, "we know that the sister socialist countries, that are deeply concerned over events elsewhere, were very encouraged by what they saw in our country, here, 90 miles from the United States."

Wrong political stand

When it came to making a political assessment, however, the Main Report presented the events in Poland as a gain for imperialism, completely missing the gain for the world revolution represented by the mobilization of the Polish working class.

What happened there was partly a result of imperialism's subversive policy. . . .

The success that reaction has had there is eloquent testimony to the fact that a revolutionary Party in power cannot deviate from Marxist-Leninist principles, neglect ideological work and divorce itself from the masses; and, when the time for rectification comes, this should not be done on the basis of concessions to the class enemy either inside or outside the country.

Castro avoided direct attacks on the Polish unions

and their leaders, expressing hope that the Polish United Workers Party would be able to resolve problems by "leaning on the healthy forces of the country and taking advantage of the enormous moral, patriotic, and revolutionary reserve of the working class."

But he warned: "There is not the slightest question about the socialist camp's right to save that country's integrity and ensure that it survives and resists at all costs imperialism's onslaught."

Castro's estimate that imperialism has been strengthened by the workers' upsurge in Poland is false. Imperialism is probing in Poland today, seeking openings to undermine the Polish workers state.

It is not the Polish workers who have been imperialism's objective ally in that process, however, but the Polish bureaucracy. By their corruption and mis-

'If a Communist Party in power commits or tolerates serious errors of principle, those errors will prove very costly to the revolutionary process. . . . Betrayals have done great damage to the world revolutionary movement.'

management, they disorganized the economy. By seeking to suppress working-class organization, they prevent the workers from taking initiative to repair the damage.

The mobilization of the Polish workers to defend their class interests, and their moves to forge ties with farmers and other oppressed groups, strengthen the workers state. It strengthens the consciousness, organization, and fighting capacity of the class that forms the foundation of any workers state.

From this standpoint, a Soviet military intervention against the Polish workers movement would seriously weaken the Polish workers state, as well as deal a blow to the entire world revolution.

Are castes reformable?

Castro's position assumes that the bureaucratic governments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe can be reformed, and that the ruling parties can be won to a more revolutionary, proletarian course at home and abroad.

But the problem in Poland—as in the Soviet Union—is not that individual officials or narrow lay-

ers of bureaucrats have become corrupt or high-handed. The problem that the Polish workers face is that the country is governed by a hardened bureaucratic caste, which requires the exclusion of the workers from political power in order to maintain its vast privileges.

The ruling parties represent these ruling castes, which oppress and plunder the workers using totalitarian political methods. That is why the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe inspire contempt and hatred in the working masses. That is why the Polish workers have taken the road of forging their own unions, independent of both the party and the government.

When the Polish workers demand rights such as the election of their own union officers, they are demanding something taken for granted in Cuban unions.

Castro's view of the Stalinist regimes and parties has been shaped by the experiences of the Cuban revolution, which has only been able to survive Washington's hostile actions through a close diplomatic, political, and military alliance with the Soviet Union and Eastern European workers states. This view, and the serious political errors that flow from it, are part of the political cost of this lifeline; the Cubans have not been able to recognize the antibureaucratic struggles by workers in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe as an integral part of the world struggle for socialism.

This view has also been influenced by the Cuban revolutionists' own success in integrating most of the cadres of the Cuban Popular Socialist Party (PSP)—a Stalinist party with a record of betrayals that included support for Batista—into a new Marxist-Leninist party in the years following the revolutionary triumph.

Further consideration of this aspect of the world proletarian revolution, however, will be posed by every upsurge of workers in Poland and other Eastern European countries, as well as by the Cubans' own rich experience in countering bureaucracy, expanding workers democracy, and proletarianizing their party. The continuing rise of revolutionary struggles in Latin America and around the world will continue to change the international context in which the struggles in Eastern Europe develop and are viewed by revolutionists in other parts of the world.

Afghanistan

The Main Report at the congress hailed the 1978 overthrow of the Daud regime in Afghanistan and the revolutionary openings that developed for the masses there. It attacked the imperialist aid to counterrevolutionary guerrillas there and blasted Washington's drive to whip up an international campaign of anti-communism and militarism following the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

The report also defended Moscow's sending of troops to Afghanistan, seeing this as made necessary by the mistakes of the previous Afghan regimes and by the actions of imperialist-backed rightists.

But the Cuban leaders have shown no enthusiasm for the Soviet operation. The Kremlin's arrogant disregard for Afghan sentiments, removal and hand-picking of governments, violations of human rights,

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April 26-May 3



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Tour costs \$535, which includes round trip air transportation from Miami, hotel accommodations (double occupancy), three meals per day, transportation for group visits, and the services of a bilingual Cuban guide. Deposits are due February 27. Full payment and passport information deadline is March 20.

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To apply send \$150 deposit with your name, address, and phone number to: Perspectiva Mundial Tours, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone (212) 929-3486.

and attempts to contain social change are completely counterposed to the methods the Cubans have utilized in aiding revolutions in Africa and Central America.

While blasting the imperialist propaganda campaign around Afghanistan, the Cuban leaders have noted the confusion and disorientation the intervention has caused even among the more radical governments and political currents in the semicolonial world.

The Cubans have sought to achieve a negotiated settlement that can lead to withdrawal of Soviet troops.

Thus, Cuba's alliance with the Kremlin does not prevent sharp disagreements, reflecting irreconcilable differences between the bureaucratic castes in the Soviet bloc and the revolutionary proletarian regime in Cuba.

These revolve primarily around the Cuban leaders' constant efforts to extend the socialist revolution and strike new blows against imperialism. This is anathema to the Soviet bureaucracy, which is dedicated to reaching an accord with the imperialists that can uphold the international status quo. Unlike the Cuban government, the Kremlin dispenses aid as a tool to pursue this aim, giving or taking away according to its own diplomatic needs.

Learning from Cuba

The further struggles of the working class in Central America, the Caribbean, Africa, Poland, and around the world will continue to pose challenges for the Cuban leaders. They will deepen the content of the debates and discussions they are having, including their debates with the leaders of the Stalinist parties in Moscow, Eastern Europe, and elsewhere.

The Second Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba showed the advances these revolutionists have



Polish workers support their new union in Krakow. Castro misses gain for world revolution represented by the workers' actions.

Castro's position on Poland assumes that the bureaucratic governments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe can be reformed, and that the ruling parties can be won to a more revolutionary, proletarian course at home and abroad.

made in adapting their thinking, organization, and action to big changes—above all, the shift of the urban proletariat to the center of world politics and the extension of the socialist revolution to Central America and the Caribbean.

Revolutionary Marxists around the world who recognize the political necessity of making a turn toward the proletariat in their countries can benefit from studying the experiences of the Cuban Communist Party, which is deepening its own proletarianization.

The advances being scored by the Cubans in this process are intertwined with their determination to support the advances of the proletarian revolution in Central America and the Caribbean.

As the Cubans are courageously showing, solidarity with the Nicaraguan and Grenadian revolutions, and with the freedom struggles in El Salvador and Guatemala, is today a vital part of linking up with the working class and its struggles around the world.

From Intercontinental Press

Lourdes Casal, staunch defender of Cuba, dies



Militant/Harry Ring

LOURDES CASAL

Lourdes Casal, one of the most active and distinguished figures in the Cuban community abroad, died in Havana on February 1 after a long and painful illness. She was forty-two years old.

Casal had not initially been a supporter of the Cuban revolution. She left the country for the United States in 1961. But after developing firsthand knowledge of the situation of Black people in the U.S., and following a 1962 tour of Africa, she began to change her views. In 1973 Casal traveled to Cuba for the first time since she had left twelve years earlier. A professor of psychology at Rutgers University in New Jersey, she began to actively work with young Cubans in the U.S. who wanted to increase their knowledge of their homeland.

A number of those who later founded the Antonio Maceo Brigade initially worked with Casal on the editorial board of the cultural magazine, *Areito*.

The brigade is composed of young Cubans who were taken to the U.S. by their parents.

As a founding member of the Committee of 75, she tirelessly worked for increased ties between the Cuban community abroad and Cuba.

From its inception, the Committee of 75 included political figures with varying views who favored rapprochement with Cuba.

Casal, from the outset, took a clear, unambiguous position in defense of the Cuban revolution. She was among those who refused to be intimidated by the campaign of assassination conducted by Cuban counterrevolutionaries in the United States. She forthrightly condemned them for the murders of Carlos Muñiz and Eulalio Negrín, two Committee of 75 partisans.

When the events occurred at the Peru embassy in Havana, leading to the Mariel boatlift, Casal was among the

first to respond with a public declaration assailing the incident there for what it was—an anti-Cuba provocation.

At the time of her death, Casal was reportedly doing a study of Afro-Cuban culture as well as research on Cuban counterrevolutionary terrorists in the United States, with plans to write books on both subjects.

A joint statement issued by the editorial board of *Areito* and the National Committee of the Antonio Maceo Brigade declared, "She was our sister and teacher. . . . Lourdes' life will inspire other young people and intellectuals, honest Cubans who will inevitably also join us on our difficult and honorable road."

A memorial meeting sponsored by the brigade, *Areito*, Casa de las Americas, and the Cuban Cultural Circle was slated to be held in New York February 13.

...Libertarians

Continued from page 6

PUSH and Rev. Ben Chavis, who will both speak at the conference rally.

The Libertarians say their opposition to basic human needs is part of a consistent "anti-government" position. In fact, they take the side of big business and its government in their two-front war against working people.

On one front, the rulers of this country are trying to draft the sons—and maybe even the daughters—of working people to fight for corporate interests around the world. On the other front, Reagan is pressing on with Carter's austerity policies, cutting back public services, hiking gasoline prices, and fostering unemployment.

And we are to pay the multi-billion-dollar cost of strengthening the war machine.

Both fronts have the same objective: to jack up big-business profits at the expense of working people.

The Libertarians line up with the

government in the battle to slash living standards, and social services here at home. Their position simply goes much further than Reagan is willing to risk doing. At the same time, they propose a strategy for the antidraft movement that would cut it off from tens of millions of working people and send it chasing after right-wing allies.

The Libertarians say they oppose the draft as "involuntary servitude." They also claim to oppose U.S. military intervention abroad. But support to the "unrestricted right" of big business to invest and reap profits puts them in a contradiction, since this is what the draft and the war drive are all about.

If they support the "right" of big business to invest around the world, how can they refuse to support the "right" of these corporations to defend themselves from anyone—such as the workers and farmers of El Salvador—who attempts to restrict this "right."

The fact is that the Libertarians, despite their claims, do not consistently oppose war preparations.

They have little to say about the "volunteer" army—or about the jobless

youth who are forced into it by the "unrestricted right" of big business to exploit and discriminate.

According to a brochure put out during Clark's 1980 presidential campaign, the Libertarians support a "strong defense for the United States itself." The brochure proposed no cuts in arms spending, saying only that Clark "opposes increasing the military budget."

Clark told last year's Libertarian Party convention in New York that "our strategic nuclear weaponry is really the only defense this country needs." The Libertarians say that the world's people must live at the brink of nuclear destruction as an alternative (for now) to the draft.

But not one penny of Washington's vast arms budget is spent to defend the great majority of Americans.

The building up of a monstrous military force and its use in war are necessary for capitalism. The U.S. rulers must defend their investments abroad, maintain their control over the economies of semicolonial countries, and be prepared to quell any revolt

against oppression and exploitation by working people at home.

More and more opponents of the draft are recognizing this connection between war and capitalism and expressing their unwillingness to sacrifice for corporate profits.

The antidraft movement today is broader than the anti-Vietnam War movement was in the early stages of U.S. intervention in Indochina. If Washington sends troops to try to crush the people of El Salvador, the potential exists to build a movement even more powerful than the one that helped force Washington to bring the troops home from Vietnam.

The antidraft, antiwar movement that is taking shape can bring to bear the decisive power of the American working class, involving growing numbers of union members, Blacks, Latinos, and students and other youth in the struggle.

The Libertarian Party and its reactionary program are dead opposed to building the kind of movement that can block the draft and stop new Vietnams. Its policies must be rejected.

Nicaraguan workers freeze out 'Eskimo' bosses

By Matilde Zimmermann

MANAGUA—Tensions between workers at the "El Eskimo" ice cream factory here and the company's owners came to a head in mid-January, when the trade union publicly charged the owners with "decapitalizing" the business, and the owners retaliated by firing the general manager for siding with the workers.

Eskimo is owned by the Salvo family, all the members of which, except for one sister, have moved to Miami. The factory and two restaurants employ 350 workers organized into a trade union affiliated with the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), as well as about a dozen who are members of the pro-capitalist Confederation of Nicaraguan Workers (CTN).

The general secretary of the CST union has charged publicly that the Salvo family "has not invested one single centavo, while it has withdrawn some 600,000 córdobas [10 córdobas=\$1] from the Eskimo account in the last fourteen months."

Interviews with Eskimo employees in the January 18 and 19 issues of the Managua dailies *Barricada* and *El Nuevo Diario* describe how the workers themselves organized to maintain production in the face of the Salvos' attempts to run the business into the ground.

'We can administer'

"When the Salvos left the country, they thought this company wouldn't last more than three months because we were incapable of managing it,"

union General-Secretary Isidro Orozco Arbizú explained. He continued:

"The facts show that we can administer the factory and more. We have also managed to pay all the workers the wages they missed during the June and July insurrection. We have renegotiated the 4.5 million córdoba debt the Salvos had to Nicaraguan banks, and we've been able to arrange for our suppliers to extend us the necessary credit for us to go on producing. We have also taken certain steps to improve the conditions of work. Besides all this, we have been commended by the Ministry of Health for the standards of cleanliness maintained in production. . . .

"As soon as the Salvos saw that the workers had actually increased production and sales were up, they rushed to claim the profits as their own."

The workers have given up days off for "red and black Sundays" of voluntary labor to keep up production. (Red and black are the Sandinista colors.) Meanwhile, "the Salvos do everything they can to make the business and the union operate less efficiently," Orozco charged. "They tell workers at their restaurants to close early or not to work on weekends so that business will suffer."

'Charge it to Eskimo'

In addition, 45,000 córdobas have gone to pay for members of the family to fly back and forth to Miami. Union treasurer Manuel Duarte Jirón explained that "The Salvos just say 'charge it to the Eskimo account.'"

That's all. And that's how they pay for their trips and satisfy their extravagant tastes." At a certain point the union just refused to allow company funds to be used for any more airplane tickets.

The workers described how a reporter from the reactionary daily *La Prensa* came to Eskimo and told them: "The Salvos can do whatever they want with their money since it is their money after all and they're the ones who made it."

"We have worked for this company all our lives," he was told, "and we've never even been to Costa Rica, whereas the Salvos go back and forth from there as if it were Chinandega [a town in Nicaragua]."

General manager fired

Guillermo Collando Flores, whom the Salvos appointed general manager of El Eskimo in October 1979, has publicly supported the union charges of "decapitalization." The owners have accused him of betraying their interests by identifying with the workers, and on January 17 they presented him with a dismissal notice. Both Collando Flores and the union announced that they did not accept the firing.

The Salvos have tried to use the small minority of restaurant workers who belong to the CTN to divide the workforce. The CTN members, explained restaurant worker and CST member Maira Rizo Torres, want the Salvos back in the saddle, with all the old relationships of exploitation and humiliation. "But we are not going to

allow a return to the old ways. And even if Lucia Salvo tries to divide us she won't be able to."

Up to this point all the responsibility for coping with the economic sabotage of the Eskimo company has rested with the workers themselves and their union. But the conflict came out into the open when the Salvos tried to fire the general manager. The union has now requested a formal Labor Ministry audit of Eskimo's books and asked the government to intervene "in this conflict which involves the principles of our revolution that gave power to the workers and peasants."

"We are united, and we are counting on the Government's support," said one worker. "We are not alone, and we expect the Government will pay attention to our charges."

Some people don't seem to realize that times have changed in Nicaragua, concluded another worker. "These Salvos seem to think they are still living in the time of Somozaism, when their buddy Anastasio Somoza, the godfather of Mario Salvo, could solve all their problems for them."

The Eskimo dairy and restaurant were placed under government intervention on January 21. Acting on information provided by the trade union there, the minister of justice ordered a thorough audit of the company's books and turned over administration of the enterprise to the Ministry of Industries. The latter's first action was to reinstate Eskimo manager Guillermo Flores.

From Intercontinental Press

Election returns for 1980 SWP candidates, others

By Sue Hagen

According to official returns, more than 50,000 people voted for Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, the Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president in the 1980 elections. Tens of thousands more voted SWP in areas where socialist candidates ran state and local campaigns. (See charts.)

The vote totals by themselves don't tell us much. Because of the capitalist two-party monopoly on the ballot and the media, elections are not a very good gauge of what working people are thinking. The high percentage of workers, especially youth, who don't vote just underscores the point.

Far more revealing than the November election results are developments like the growth of labor opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador; the union-sponsored rally

against nuclear power to be held in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on March 28; the founding of the National Black Independent Political Party; and the growing discussion of a labor party based on the unions.

Even so, there are statistics about the elections worth noting. The SWP was on the ballot in twenty-eight states, the Communist Party (CP) in twenty-four, Workers World Party (WWP) in eleven, and the Socialist Party (SP) in ten.

The Citizens Party, with Barry Commoner as its standard-bearer, ran on a liberal capitalist program. Identified with opposition to nuclear power, Commoner received nearly a quarter million votes.

The right-wing Libertarian Party was on the ballot in every state. Opposed to unions and civil rights, the party is an enemy of working people.

Its antidraft stance no doubt fooled many and accounted for a share of its 920,000 votes.

There was a systematic attempt to exclude socialist candidates from the ballot in several states. In Michigan, for example, a discriminatory law requires third parties to run in a separate qualifying primary.

In California, the SWP submitted nominating petitions far in excess of the required number, only to be ruled ineligible. The SWP filed suit and won wide support, but Gov. Jerry Brown's administration refused to yield and the California courts backed him up.

SWP candidates were also ruled off the ballot in Texas.

In Missouri, however, the SWP won a big victory. Socialists waged a well-publicized fight for ballot rights, and forced the state to reverse an earlier decision excluding them.

In the Tidewater area of Virginia, SWP congressional candidate Sharon Grant, running against one opponent, polled more than 13,000 votes, and Black precincts in Newport News and Hampton gave her over forty percent.

The vote totals printed in the charts here were compiled by the *Militant* based on reports from state election boards. The results are incomplete, since there are long delays in reporting votes for socialist candidates.

In January the Federal Election Commission announced the following national vote totals for presidential tickets: SWP, 50,166; CP, 43,871; Socialist Party, 6,720; Workers World, 13,211; Citizens, 230,377.

The totals reported to the *Militant* by state election boards show a national vote for the SWP presidential ticket of 53,470.

We will report further results when they become available.

Presidential race

	SWP	CP	SP	WWP	Cit.
Ala.	1,303	1,629	1,006		517
Ariz.	1,100	25*		2*	551*
Fla.	41*	123*	113*	8*	
Ga.	9*				
Ill.	1,302	9,711		2,257	10,692
Ind.	610	702			4,852
Iowa	244	298	534		2,273
Ky.	393	348			1,304
La.	783				1,584
Mass.	3,735		62*	19*	2,056*
Mich.		3,262		30*	11,903
Minn.	711	1,117	536	698	8,406
Miss.	2,347				
Mo.	6,515	26*			573*
N.H.	71	129		76	1,320
N.J.	2,198	2,555	1,973	1,288	8,203
N.M.	325				2,202
N.Y.	2,068	7,414		1,416	23,186
N.C.	416				2,287
N.D.	89	93	82		
Ohio	4,191	5,016		4,094	8,883
Pa.	20,291	5,184			
R.I.	86	178	122	80	
S.D.	229				
Tenn.	490	503	519	400	1,112
Utah	124	139			1,009
Vt.	81	121	134		2,390
Va.	1,986				14,024
Wash.	1,137	834	956	341	9,403
Wash. D.C.	157	354		51	1,826
W. Va.	4*				
Wis.	383	772	808	414	7,767

*Write-in votes

State & local races

	SWP	CP	WWP	Cit.		SWP	CP	WWP
Alabama					New York			
U.S. Senate	1,511				U.S. Senate	2,715	4,161	3,643
Arizona					14th C.D.	1,086		
U.S. Senate	3,266	3,608			19th C.D.	692		
1st C.D.	2,043				28th C.D.	1,196		
Florida					N. Carolina			
U.S. Senate	159*				U.S. Senate	4,346		
Georgia					Governor	2,887		
U.S. Senate	47*				Ohio			
Illinois					U.S. Senate	76,765	43,239	
U.S. Senate	2,715	11,453	5,626	19,213	1st C.D.	3,556		
Univ. of Ill. Bd. of Trustees					9th C.D.	2,448		
(three positions)	18,551	46,956	26,017	41,808	Pennsylvania			
	31,774	22,793	10,029	56,068	U.S. Senate	27,229	3,334	
	29,639	22,406	27,704	77,123	State Treas.	23,879		
Massachusetts					Utah			
6th C.D.	1,307				2nd C.D.	982		
Minnesota					Virginia			
4th C.D.	1,993				1st C.D.	13,688		
5th C.D.	1,611				Washington, D.C.			
8th C.D.	4,134				City Council	2,893	7,773	
Missouri					W. Virginia			
U.S. Senate	6,707				Governor	9*		
Governor	7,193				Wisconsin			
New Jersey					U.S. Senate	6,502		
10th C.D.	219				4th C.D.	1,670		
11th C.D.	1,603				5th C.D.	1,371		
New Mexico								
State Hs., 14th Dist.	108							

*Write-in votes

As Solidarity scores new gain

CPUSA backs Polish gov't against union

By William Gottlieb

Once again the Polish government has been forced to yield to the just demands of the Polish workers.

Workers in the southern Polish city of Bielsko-Biala ended their general strike when the Warsaw government finally accepted the resignation of provincial governor Jozef Labudek and his top aides.

The February 6 *New York Times* reported, "Bielsko-Biala officials have been accused of everything from expropriating government buildings for their own use to constructing summer villas instead of public housing, allocating cars to the secret police instead of doctors, and allowing tax payments to lapse for influential friends. . . .

"People who had to wait six years for allocation of an apartment rankled at the privileges accorded to the well-connected."

Most working people are inspired by the growing ability of the workers and farmers in Poland to defend their rights.

But not the U.S. Communist Party.

Writing in the February 4 issue of the *Daily World*, the CP newspaper, Conrad Komorowski expressed fear that Solidarity, the Polish trade union, is being taken over by irresponsible elements.

Komorowski quoted Stanislaw Kania, the leader of the Polish United Workers Party (the so-called Communist party) as saying, "The organization which was supposed to be a labor union is undergoing transformation and is far from what it had declared in its charter. . . . Solidarity is being guided by some instigators into the direction of an oppositional political party."

Komorowski, whose article appeared before the latest concession by the Polish government, declared, "At Bielsko-Biala, groups have staged a crippling strike demanding the removal of some city and provincial officials they claim are corrupt. A government commission is negotiating with the protest groups but are having great difficulties." The "groups" included virtually the entire working class of the city.

But why shouldn't the working people have the power to remove officials they oppose? The conception of a workers government advocated by Marx and Lenin, and put into practice by the Bolsheviks after the Russian revolution in 1917, included the right of democratic workers' and farmers' councils to recall any official at any time.

If genuine democratic institutions existed in Poland, and if the elementary norms of workers democracy were respected by the Polish government, strikes like the one in Bielsko-Biala need not occur. But these conditions do not exist, and the workers are obliged to fight for them.

Komorowski's stand marks a shift by the CP, which for a time pretended to support the goals of the Polish workers.

Gus Hall, general secretary of the U.S. Communist Party, in a September 17 speech, conceded that the government's practices had created a situation where the working people "felt they had no other alternative but to take drastic



Polish workers and farmers demand end to bureaucratic corruption and a voice in decision making. Communist Party USA seems to think that's asking too much.

and dramatic measures to call attention to their grievances."

"The workers must be deeply involved in deciding matters pertaining to management, improvement of working and living conditions, use of funds for both developing production and for social and cultural purposes and financial incentives," he continued.

Hall declared that, "This is the deepest meaning of socialist democracy and democratic centralism. This vital link was weak in Poland."

He concluded his talk with the prediction that the problems were "being transformed into their opposite because the Party, the trade union leaders and the government are drawing the necessary conclusions."

The "trade union" leaders Hall looked to have pretty much vanished from the scene. Almost all Polish workers deserted the government-dominated unions in favor of the new Solidarity unions, where leaders are responsible to the ranks. The government had to abolish the old trade union federation.

But the government and Party leaders never stopped trying to obstruct the establishment of the "socialist democracy" that Hall admits is necessary in Poland. They obstructed enforcement of the agreements reached with the workers in August. They resist the participation of the workers and farmers in public affairs. They seek to slow down investigations into corruption, and to protect corrupt officials from removal by the outraged masses.

It is a basic idea of Marxism that when such an "error" is made repeatedly and stuck to in the face of massive op-

position, there is a material interest behind it.

In the February 4 *New York Times*, correspondent John Darnton gives an inkling of that interest.

Darnton writes, "For the residents of [Wyszkiw] this small town 30 miles northeast of Warsaw, the anger is directed at a spectacular development of weekend cottages, hidden well off the main road at the end of a dirt track that stops in a pine forest. Local citizens call it 'Bermuda.'"

Darnton explains, "The existence of 'Bermuda' came to light in a letter to the editor in the current issue of *Literatura*, a weekly newspaper. One of the houses, said the letter writer, looked like a vast sailing ship. Suggesting that perhaps an investigation might be in order, he provided directions so that anyone could go and see for himself."

Darnton gives the following description of "Bermuda." "Ship and all, the secluded compound of 100 or so Swiss-style chalets with wraparound balconies overlooking a picture-postcard lake was right where the anonymous muckracker said it would be. Constructed out of richly grained natural wood, each house was separated by an identical wire fence, and the dirt streets out front were lighted by municipal street lamps, a strange sight in the middle of a forest."

Darnton quotes a former member of the Party as saying, "Multiply it by 49. In every province in the country first and second secretaries were doing the same thing. So were ministers, deputy ministers, secretaries, directors. It was only in the last two years that they began buying seagoing yachts."

This is not a picture of the vanguard of the working class. It is a description of the privileged, corrupt bureaucratic caste that controls the Polish Party and government.

This caste cannot allow the workers and farmers to decide basic questions, since that would lead to exposure and elimination of its privileges.

The real instigators of strikes in Poland are not the leaders of Solidarity, but the parasitic bureaucrats who leave the workers and farmers no alternative but to create independent mass organizations and to threaten strikes against outrageous abuses.

To those unfamiliar with the politics of the U.S. Communist Party, the shift in its line may seem puzzling. After all, if in September the Polish government was wrong and the workers right, as Hall conceded, isn't the same likely to still be true in February?

Instead of considering this possibility, the CP attacked the workers—as soon as the Polish government had regained the courage to do so.

The leaders of the U.S. Communist Party do not look at events in Poland from the standpoint of the working class—whether Polish, American, or Russian.

They identify instead with the privileged bureaucratic castes in Eastern Europe, and above all with the privileged bureaucrats in Moscow.

Since these bureaucrats can't abide the Polish workers' demands for a voice in decision-making, democratic rights, and an end to bureaucratic misrule, it was inevitable that the U.S. Communist Party leaders would fall into line with them.

Somozaists kill Sandinistas in Nicaragua

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—Seven Sandinista soldiers were killed January 27 when Somozaist ex-National Guardsmen operating from camps in southern Honduras ambushed a border patrol near the town of Santa María in northern Nueva Segovia province.

Among the dead were four members of the Sandinista People's Militias (MPS) from the city of León who were recently mobilized for active duty in the north.

Six of the Nicaraguan troops died while defending themselves from the assault, which occurred in broad day-

light just half a mile from the Honduran border. Four of the counterrevolutionary gang were also killed in the fight. Two MPS members were captured by the Somozaists and carried to a camp in Honduras where they were brutally tortured. One died as a result, but the other managed to escape and return to Nicaragua.

When the bodies of the four militia members were brought to León the day after the attack, thousands of persons gathered in the city's main plaza to honor the dead and to protest the impunity with which the counterrevolu-

tionary bands operate from Honduras.

MPS commander Edén Pastora addressed the crowd in León, saying: "It comes powerfully to our minds that tens and hundreds of Salvadoran refugees—old people, women, and children—who were fleeing repression in El Salvador were murdered by Honduran troops. The Hondurans control their borders with El Salvador quite well, and murder people who flee the repression of an army like the Honduran one. But they do not control their borders with us, where the genocidal guards go on killing. . . .

"Let us hope the people of Honduras can hear us and that the people of Honduras do something so that the Honduran authorities stop tolerating these genocidal and criminal guardsmen."

Further mobilizations to protest the Honduran government's complicity with Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries and to redouble support to the Sandinista People's Militias took place throughout Nicaragua in the days following the January 27 attack. A massive rally was being planned for Managua on January 31.

Anti-Klan Network launches spring offensive

By Melvin Chappell

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Five hundred people met at Howard University January 30-31 at the second national conference of the National Anti-Klan Network (NAKN). A call for a "spring offensive" to challenge the nationwide rise of racist violence and to expose government complicity with the Ku Klux Klan's racist, antilabor goals was issued by the conference.

"The spring offensive will put in action thousands upon thousands of persons who are opposed to the rise of racism," said Lucius Walker at a press conference opening the meeting. Walker is a leader of the NAKN and director of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organizations (IFCO).

Rev. C.T. Vivian, SCLC leader and executive director of the Black Action Strategy Information Center (BASIS), also spoke.

"For Blacks and minorities in this country, the political process would not work for us," Vivian said. "We have indications that politicians have worked together with the Klan and the far right."

"We pushed them back in the decade of the sixties and we made the mistake of thinking we could hand it over to

others in the seventies thinking they would do what was right. We know better after ten years of struggle and another ten years of waiting. We now intend to make this decade our decade again," said Vivian.

A prominent feature of the conference was the large number of unionists in attendance. This reflected the growing involvement of the ranks and the leadership of the unions in actions protesting racist violence and other Klan activities.

Representatives of civil rights, feminist, student, church, and community organizations also attended the meeting, titled, "Conference on New Strategies to Counter the KKK."

These included members of the Center for Constitutional Rights, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), National Federation of Independent Unions, National Baptist Convention, International Committee of Civil Rights of the AFL-CIO, United Steelworkers District 15, Coalition of Labor Union Women, National Lawyers Guild, and the National Conference of Black Lawyers.

Also, members of the NAACP, National Organization for Women, American Friends Service Committee, AFSCME District 1199, National An-

tiracist Organizing Committee, Southerners for Economic Justice, Socialist Workers Party, Workers World Party, Communist Party, Communist Workers Party, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Conference workshops were held on such topics as "Feminist Response to the Klan," "Campus Organizing," "Police Violence/Government Complicity," "Building Coalitions," and "The Role of Labor."

Educational panel discussions were held. One panel, focusing on the role of labor, featured Dick Greenwood, assistant to William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists (IAM); Evan Goldman, of the National Education Association (NEA); and Robert White, president of the National Alliance of Postal Workers and Federal Employees.

"The extreme importance of this conference and the effort to raise the consciousness of Americans and focus attention on the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan activities throughout the country cannot be overemphasized," said White.

"We must broaden the base of the anti-Klan movement," he said. "The scope of involvement must include all working people, also the unemployed, people of all races, members of all religious denominations, professed liberals, moderates, and conservatives."

Anne Braden, leader of the NAKN and of the Southern Organizing Committee for Social and Economic Justice, gave the keynote address at the opening session of the conference.

"People are being mutilated in Buffalo, murdered in Atlanta, shot at in Chattanooga, shot down in cold blood on the streets of Greensboro, killed in Miami, shot at in Decatur, Alabama," said Braden. "And nothing, absolutely nothing is being done about it by the people who run this country."

"This is an intolerable situation," Braden said. "This is an emergency."

Braden outlined the activities of the spring offensive. These will include a mass lobby on the capital in D.C. on a date to be determined; a week of protest activities in local areas this spring directed against the Klan and racist violence; and a national congressional

hearing that will tour the country.

"We want to mobilize masses of people around them," Braden said of the hearings. They will be conducted by U.S. Congressman John Conyers. Braden explained that the hearings will be organized as speakouts to give victims of racist violence a chance to tell their stories to the public.

Braden added, "The Klan could not have this type of resurgence if it was not being protected by the government and actually encouraged by certain forces in the government. This has to be the focus of the investigation."

NAKN leaders pointed out that the lobby in D.C. will not resemble the classical method of "lobbying." They state that it will be "a mass lobby that would publicly take strong measures."

"What counts is how many people we can get into the streets," Braden said of the plans for the spring offensive. "We can build a majority movement that can turn this country around."

The NAKN began in Norfolk, Virginia, in August 1979, after a two-day meeting at New Calvary Baptist Church. That meeting was called after a June 1979 "Support Tommy Lee Hines" march in Decatur, Alabama, was attacked by Klansmen. They shot into the crowd and injured three people.

Tommy Lee Hines is a retarded Black youth who was framed-up on rape charges. The Virginia group decided to ask IFCO and the SCLC to help organize an anti-Klan conference of church and community leaders. The result was the founding conference of the NAKN, held in Atlanta in December 1979.

That conference called a national demonstration in Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 2, 1980. Seven thousand people participated in the march and rally which denounced the slaying of five members of the Communist Workers Party by Klan-Nazi assassins.

For more information on the spring offensive against Klan and racist violence, contact the National Anti-Klan Network at 348 Covenant Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10031, (212) 926-5757.

Black United Front calls action

By Osborne Hart

NEW YORK—The National Black United Front announced plans for a nationally coordinated April 4 "March Against Racist Violence." Demonstrations are scheduled for major U.S. cities on the thirteenth anniversary of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The demonstration call was the highlight of an NBUF-sponsored "National Hearing On Racist Violence" here February 7. NBUF national chairperson, Rev. Herbert Daughtry, hosted a panel of representatives of BUF chapters and other Black organizations from around the country during an all-day session at Hunter College.

Panel participants cataloged incidents of racist violence that occurred during 1979-80. Facts on Ku Klux Klan and Nazi assaults, racist killings such as the Buffalo and Atlanta murders, and other attacks were presented and discussed.

The hearing was also a prelude to the upcoming NBUF regional conferences to be held in the Midwest, South, East, and West during February and March.

For more information about the April 4 antiracist actions and the NBUF regional conferences contact: National Black United Front, 415 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, New York 11217. Telephone: (212) 596-1991.

... Black party

Continued from back page

Black community. The so-called response time by police is a joke to Blacks who've waited hours or been completely ignored. The racism and violence by police in the Black community is well documented. A few more police hired or laid off will not deter crime or change racist feelings in the police department."

Perry-Cooper suggested where additional money could be raised. "There are no proposed cuts in salaries for the council or the city administration," she said. "The city took in \$35 million from last year's hike in the income tax. When someone asks you where we can get the money, remind them of the shameful display to the tune of \$10 million for Reagan's inaugural party."

"The city of Cleveland didn't have any money to sponsor the famous debate either, but it found it. Where did it come from? It comes from the rich when it serves their interest."

The statement criticized Black city Council President George Forbes for his promotion of the tax hike. "Forbes, as city council president and a token Black among the white business interests, also endorsed the financial plan for the city drawn up by the banks and corporations of Cleveland," said the NBIPP. "This three year financial plan was pushed through the city council by Forbes without a thorough review or study. Blacks weren't consulted, Hispanics weren't consulted, and labor wasn't consulted."

"This plan puts the burden on working people and gives the business

interests preferred status. This is done in mutual cooperation by both Democrats and Republicans."

"Join us," the NBIPP statement appealed, "to protect our interests and serve a warning that the Black community is no longer up for grabs by Democrats and Republicans who represent big business."

Daniel Peacock also appeared on the show. When questioned about the party's plans to publicize its opposition to

the tax increase, he responded, "We really want to debate mayor Voinovich, but we don't expect him to accept."

The Cleveland NBIPP plans to circulate its statement at public events as well as pursue editorial response time from the three major television stations. All of the stations have taken positions in support of the tax increase.

During the ninety-minute talk show

virtually every caller expressed support for the party's position on Issue 6 and the party's overall perspectives. Some callers volunteered financial contributions.

One man asked, "What do I have to do to get involved?"

"It's easy," Peacock responded.

"All you have to be is Black, and we meet every Wednesday evening at 7 o'clock at 7412 Myron. And if you'd like to talk more, you can call us at [216] 431-7743."

Make Martin Luther King's birthday a holiday A Petition to the United States Congress

We, the undersigned believe that, in the interest of improved human relations in our country, there should be a national holiday honoring a black American. We believe further, that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. dedicated his life to justice, equality and brotherhood for all Americans, Black and white and that Dr. King's life and work represent the highest patriotism and the very spirit of democracy.

We therefore hereby petition the United States Congress to enact legislation providing for the establishment of January 15, the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., as a national holiday.

NAME

ADDRESS

ZIP

Help circulate this petition calling for a national holiday on Martin Luther King's birthday. The organizers of the massive January 15 King Day demonstration have extended the deadline to February 28. For more information and copies of the petition, contact Ofield Dukes & Associates, Suite 716, National Press Building, Washington, D.C. 20045; telephone (202) 638-2299.

Dallas socialists: 'Tax rich, not workers'

By Chris Driscoll

DALLAS—In January, Dallas voters rejected by a two-to-one margin Proposition 1, commonly known as the TEA Party amendment. Sponsored by the right-wing Tax Equality Association, the measure claimed to cut property taxes.

Bob Cantrick, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of this city, hailed the resounding defeat for the TEA Party amendment. "Working people are fed up with so-called tax-cut schemes that simply shift the burden of taxation onto the shoulders of those who work for a living," he said.

Cantrick, thirty-six, is an assembly line worker at General Motors in Arlington, Texas. He is running along with Kathy Rettig, twenty-five, a tool-and-die trainee at LTV Vought, a large Dallas war contractor.

Socialist tax stand

The socialist candidates called for a "no" vote on Proposition 1 and explained the socialist position on taxes:

"Working people should pay no taxes whatsoever. We contribute more than our fair share already by creating all the wealth produced by society through our labor.

"The rich, and their corporations, who take billions in profits out of Dallas each year, should foot the entire bill for transit, schools, parks, hospitals, and everything else we need.

"If they claim they can't afford it, we should demand they open their books to prove it."

Tax ripoffs by the big corporations have been a major issue in this city. In the spring of 1980, a new tax assessment scheme was implemented that



Rally for Dallas transit workers last fall. Socialist candidate Cantrick (inset) says corporations, not working people, should foot bill for city services.

shifted a large share of property taxes from big business to the homes of working-class families.

When the tax assessments were delivered, homeowners in working-class areas got tax increases of as much as 500 percent. Many of those who rent homes received notices of rent increases due to higher taxes.

In some communities, people organized to fight the new assessments. The issue became a topic of discussion among workers. The popular sentiment was "We've already given all we have; this is the straw that broke the camel's back."

The TEA Party tried to divert that sentiment with its Proposition 1, which

purported to reduce property taxes and limit their annual increase.

But TEA Party literature made no bones about its anti-working class, pro-big business character. The literature bluntly proclaimed that the "Amendment is in no way anti-business." It went on to plead, "Let's not push our tax burden off ourselves onto the business community."

Among the proposition's sponsors was Sam Ventura, Sr., who owns more than \$2.7 million in real estate and a half-million dollar home in Dallas. Ventura obviously stood to gain a large windfall through the proposed property tax cut.

At the same time, TEA Party leaflets

opened fire on city workers. "The TEA Party wants all the *productive, efficient* employees of the City to be well paid," they said. (Emphasis added.)

That sounded an alarm for Dallas city workers, who have some of the worst working conditions in the country. Last fall, transit workers were forced into a walkout to fight twelve to fourteen-hour days and among the lowest wages for transit workers in the country.

Proposition 1 also opposed any expansion of property tax exemptions for the elderly, disabled, and disabled veterans.

Instead, the proposition tried to play renters off against homeowners. It warned, "Home renters (houses or apartments) will have a heavier tax burden to carry if homestead exemptions are increased."

False choice

Like the Proposition 13 tax measure passed in California several years ago, Proposition 1 was opposed here by some city officials. But these officials also tried to confuse workers, arguing that if their taxes were cut, there would be no money for social services. The city even threatened to lay off 1,500 workers if the measure went through.

"The big corporations and their parties, the Democrats and Republicans, are trying to convince us we have to choose between higher taxes or social services," Cantrick commented.

"Working people in Dallas desperately need a political party that can voice our needs. We need a labor party, based on the trade unions, to outline working-class solutions and answer the fake solutions of big business."

San Diego Militant Forum hosts busing debate

By Mark Friedman

SAN DIEGO—"Should San Diego schools be desegregated?" was the topic of a January 30 debate here sponsored by the Militant Forum.

Mesa College Black Studies Prof. Bob Russell and Ambrose Brodus, vice-president of the local Urban League, answered "yes" to the question posed to the forum. Larry Lester's answer was "no." Lester is president of Groundswell, an antibusing group.

"Lester contended that money spent for busing could better be spent on improving neighborhood schools, particularly black neighborhood schools," reported the *San Diego Union* in a

January 31 article headlined, "Debate turns hot over busing program."

"Brodus suggested that Lester's notion was naive in that black schools have traditionally been overlooked, even after the Brown vs. Board of Education case in 1954 which determined that separate cannot be equal," said the *Union*.

"Lester said he favored 'natural' integration, not 'phony' integration forced by the government.

"Brodus and Russell were quick to point out how successful 'natural' integration has been in the past. . . .

"San Diego County has had four

years of court-ordered voluntary desegregation programs in the city schools, Brodus said. Four years ago, 23 schools were minority isolated schools. Today, he said, 23 schools are minority isolated. Of the 4,046 students involved in voluntary busing, Russell added, 46 are white.

"Calling the city's effort to integrate 'mediocre,' Brodus said, 'this community had demonstrated a clear inability to integrate voluntarily.' In determining how to best educate all children, he said, 'if it includes the bus, do it.'"

The January 31 *San Diego Tribune* also ran an article on the forum. It was

headlined, "Anti-busing group fights charges at debate."

The article said the debate "focused on whether an anti-busing group is racist."

Russell, the *Tribune* reported, addressed himself, "to those who advocate the principle that 'separate is equal.'"

"I think that Groundswell helps to promote this principle," he said. "In fact, I would argue that, whether you're conscious of it or not, your position is race-based."

"I submit that the bus is a cop-out for the real issue, and that's race."

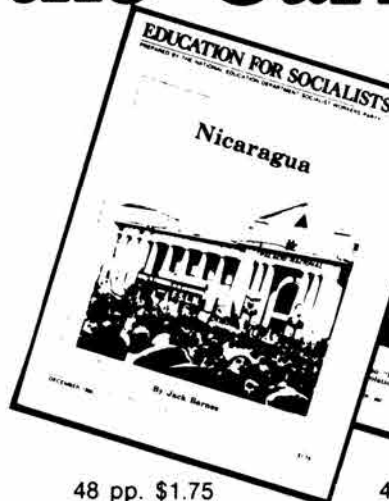
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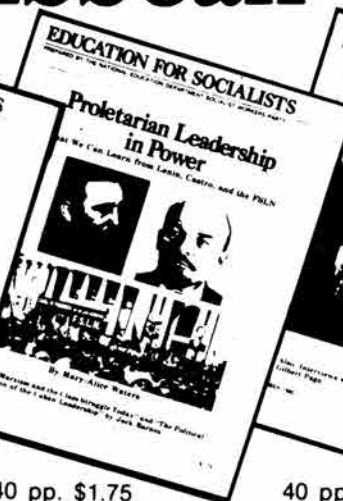
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Socialist miners discuss issues facing union

By Nelson Blackstock

PITTSBURGH—Socialist coal miners from Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Illinois, and Alabama met here January 31-February 1.

They discussed big events coming up in the next month: the March 16 trial in the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against government spying (see accompanying story), the March 27 expiration of the miners' contract, and the March 28 antinuclear demonstration called by labor unions for Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

As they were meeting, contract negotiations were under way between the United Mine Workers and the coal operators. Since the current pact expires March 27, and the miners have a ten-day period to decide on any proposed settlement, a strike is assured unless there is at least a tentative agreement by March 17.

Already some miners are on strike. Six Peabody mines in the West, which fall under a separate UMWA contract, have been forced out by the company's refusal to settle on a reasonable basis.

The socialist miners agreed that a pressing issue before their union—and other unions, as well—is the need to build solidarity with Western strikers.

The question of Western coal is a big one for the UMWA. Largely non-union, most is strip-mined. The percentage of non-union coal mined has increased from 30 percent in 1970 to 56 percent now.

A strong contract in the West will tend to act as a pace setter for other union miners, as well as aid the drive to organize Western coal.

The coal bosses are pleading that a stiff competition from non-union mines means that union miners must taper their demands.

In her report here, Mary Zinns, a Pennsylvania miner, explained how the miners' fight is part of a response to a general ruling class offensive.

"The coal operators are out to step up production. It is already at an all-time high of 850 million tons. Exports are up. They expect to ship out sixty-five million tons this year.

"This increased 'productivity' they want to take out of our hides—with short-cuts on safety and a cut in real wages."

Contract battle, SWP suit: part of same fight

By Nelson Blackstock

PITTSBURGH—One day at work an Illinois miner summed up an important truth.

"When socialists don't have a right to sell the *Militant*, that's when we don't have a union."

The socialist miners meeting here devoted a major point on their agenda to the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against government spying and harassment.

The suit is set to go to trial March 16. The miners here believe that their co-workers will want to know what's at stake and what socialists think about the issue.

During a discussion in another

mine, one worker said, "Damn right we should defend these socialists. They've brought some good ideas to the locals. We should back them up."

The miners here have been getting out the story of the fired Lockheed workers in Georgia. "I find the miners I work with are inspired by the way we are fighting back, a West Virginia miner said.

"Company finks are hated even more than the bosses," he continued. "The spying going on at Lockheed was disgusting. It's going to be easy to get support for the fired workers."

Another miner recalled a discussion in his local over a proposal to

lend support to Marian Bustin. A socialist miner originally from Scotland, she has been the victim of Immigration and Naturalization Service harassment.

"One rightwinger started to red-bait, with talk about 'these communists.' Another miner quickly replied, 'Cut that shit out. This is serious. Our children have a stake in this.' That put a quick stop to the redbaiting."

After the meeting an Alabama miner said, "When you get right down to it the fight around this suit and the fight for a strong contract—both coming up this spring—are all part of the same thing."

"They wish they could follow the example of Chrysler, where workers have been forced to take a \$46 per week wage decrease, with no guarantees they'll still have a job," Zinns said.

"Meanwhile Reagan is out to slash spending on social services to the bone. At the same time, he wants to hand the Pentagon new millions for stepped up war spending.

"The government just sent \$5 million to the El Salvador junta, even after they murdered four American nuns."

"On the other hand," she continued, "we've seen a fight back on the international level."

She pointed to the role of Cuba, the newly victorious revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada, as well as the current heroic struggle of the people of El Salvador.

"The Polish workers have set an inspiring example for their class the world over," Zinns stated.

"Here at home, we've seen one million marchers, almost all Black, turn out in Washington, D.C., to demand a holiday for Martin Luther King.

(One Pennsylvania miner said later during the discussion on the report that he happened to notice a co-worker was absent the day of the King march. He asked him and found, sure enough, he

had gone to the march in Washington.)

"The emergence of the National Black Independent Political Party is another sign of the attempt to respond to these attacks," Zinns said.

"The UMWA contract struggle will be part of the answer to this ruling class offensive," she said.

Last time around, in 1977-78, the miners put up a hard fight. Facing a concerted drive to severely weaken their union, they answered with a 111-day strike.

The socialist miners assessed the mood of members of their union today.

"If they force us out on strike," said an Illinois miner, "the miners where I work are going to fight back hard. Because they know the operators will be going for the jugular."

In their mad rush to increase profits, Zinns said, the companies are pushing for a seven-day week. That will allow them to mine coal around the clock all week long.

This would be something new for coal miners. They value their free Sundays, and are not likely to give them up easily.

"There's a lot of talk now about a six-hour day," reported Tom Moriarty, a West Virginia coal miner, who was the Socialist Workers candidate for governor of that state last year.

The UMWA constitution includes the demand for the six-hour day, thirty-hour week as one of the goals of the union.

"In this discussion, miners need to recall that we are after a thirty hour week at forty hours pay," Moriarty said.

Another miner pointed out that the fight of the Polish miners for the five-day week is something American miners will remember.

"The need for a labor party will become clearer during a strike," Moriarty continued. "With the courts and the politicians all coming down on the side of the companies, miners will be able to see that we have to fight on the political front."

A key factor in any strike will be the question of solidarity. It was the broad support from other workers and farmers that allowed the miners to beat back the bosses last time.

The March 28 antinuclear power demonstration in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, is an immediate focus for building solidarity.

The UMWA is officially on record in support of the action, as are the International Association of Machinists, the United Auto Workers, and other unions.

"It will be a demonstration not only against nukes," said a female miner. "It will also be for the UMWA. It is for the shorter workweek to reduce unemployment."

The UMWA strongly opposes nuclear power and has been in the forefront of opposition to it.

Another miner said: "I recently had a run-in with my supervisor. Afterward, a friend said, 'On March 28 you can pay him back.'"

Several miners noted the militant attitude of younger miners.

"You can see a lot of anger there," one speaker said.

Another reported that while some of the older miners seem to fall for some of the war propaganda, the younger miners are likely to respond: "I don't want to go. I'm not going anywhere. I want to stay right here."

One third of the miners here are members of the Young Socialist Alliance. The meeting heard a special report on the YSA's work in the mines.

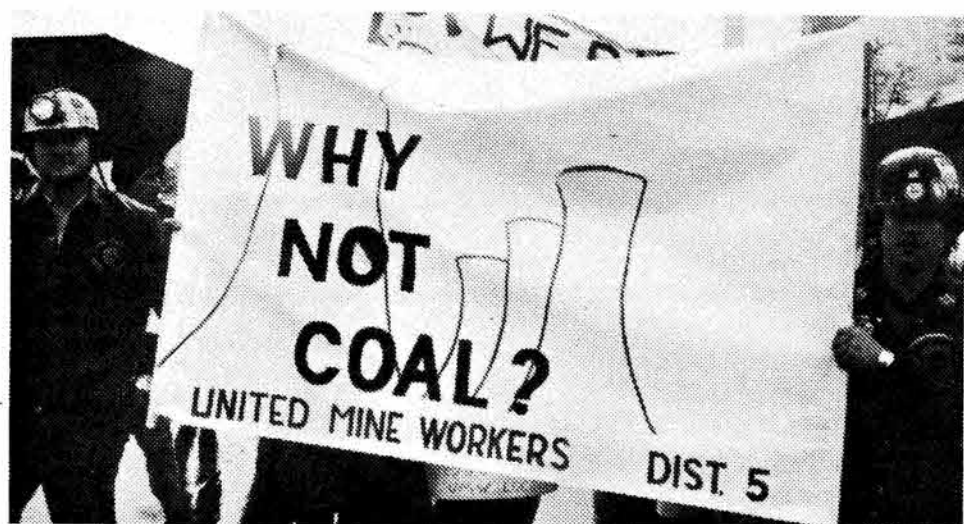
The conference also heard the latest on plans to establish the socialist movement in Charleston, West Virginia. A group of socialists are already at work to establish the first branch of the SWP in the southern West Virginia coal fields.

The socialists talked about the importance of the *Militant* to coal miners. They decided to step up the use of the pages of the *Militant* to communicate to miners and to other workers what's going on in the coal fields.

The socialist miners will be taking part in a drive this spring to get new subscribers to the *Militant* and *Young Socialist*.

At the time of the last strike in 1977-78, there were no SWP or YSA members in the mines.

"We still have a lot to learn," one miner said. "We need to listen, and find out what other miners are thinking."



March on Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, called by United Mine Workers and other unions, will be big step in strengthening antinuclear struggle, labor movement, and fight for jobs.

... Kerry

Continued from page 13

Being responsible for the never-ending battle of trying to figure out how to keep down costs and raise money to publish the most essential things, Carolyn went to work in earnest. She was determined that we would somehow find a way to publish Castro's most important speeches and report on developments taking place in Cuba. And we did.

To publish one speech, we didn't have enough money for an eight-page paper, but we came up with enough for six pages, and Carolyn organized a crew of comrades to donate their labor and colate by hand the single extra sheet that

had to be inserted in each copy before it was folded and sent out.

Right from the start, she wanted to be able to go and see the Cuban revolution for herself. For years the travel blockade imposed by U.S. imperialism precluded any possibility, but she was finally able to go to Cuba for a brief tourist vacation in 1978. She came back with renewed interest in developments taking place in Cuba and was especially interested in the conditions of women and the flowering of art, dance, and culture in Cuba.

The third political development in recent years that Carolyn drew great inspiration from was the emergence of the women's liberation movement. She was enthusiastic about the large numbers of

women coming forward to fight for their rights, and the development of a broad new layer of leaders of the Socialist Workers Party who were women.

She understood how the different economic and social conditions of today created possibilities for women that were different from her generation and she wanted to encourage all her young women friends and comrades to take maximum advantage of every opportunity.

Karolyn belonged to both the Coalition of Labor Union Women and the National Organization for Women and was an active member of NOW in recent years, even after she and Tom "retired" from day-to-day political leadership responsibilities in 1977 and moved to the

West Coast.

Karolyn's strongest conviction in life was that everything she had done that was worthwhile was because of the party. She understood that not everyone could sustain the pace and pressure, and she had many friends among sympathizers and former members of the party. But whenever she would hear comrades imply that they were making "sacrifices" for the party, she would immediately take them up on it. The only real sacrifice, she would tell them, would be to cease being a revolutionary, to no longer devote your utmost time, energy and ability to advancing the interests of the working class.

That, Karolyn knew, was what made her life worthwhile.

...Three Mile Island

Continued from back page

York County is notorious for the starlings that came by every year. They never showed up after the March 28 accident. Birds were found dead in the highways, in the backyards.

No one will quarrel with the fact that all farmers encounter some problems on their farms, but not to the level we experienced in the period of 1976 through 1979.

Of course the NRC and the Pennsylvania Agricultural Department and the Pennsylvania Radiology Department have all explained it away by charging the farmers with sloppy management.

But what they failed to explain to me is why farmers who farmed for years without this number of complaints, who are well acquainted with farming procedures, are suddenly filing more and more complaints about their high vet bills and the high mortality rate and illness rate among their animals.

Nowhere do they explain why Met Ed went sneaking about collecting meat sections from these same farmers, all the while posing as the Food and Drug Administration inspectors. Or about the animals taken away by the New Bolton Center, half dead and blind. The condition of those animals or what brought the condition about were never fully explained.

Dead animals confiscated

Nor was anything said about the confiscation of Mr. Hoover's animals that he personally had sent to the New Bolton Center because he was dissatisfied with the reports coming back from the lab in the agricultural department.

The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania went down there and confiscated these animals, confiscated the reports, and he got nothing. That was his property. They had no right to do that.

The animals that were affected in that area were cows, heifers, steers, and milking cows, horses, goats, sheep, pigs, rabbits, guinea pigs, ducks, geese, cats, dogs, birds, and even a five-year-old mule that was so full of cancer that Dr. Weber said he has never seen anything like it.

The longevity of a mule is thirty years. You're not supposed to get cancer for twenty years after exposure. Yet this mule was full of cancer.

A friend who operates a major animal rendering service in our area warned me two weeks prior to the accident at TMI that Met Ed employees delivered three truck-loads of dead fish.

The dead animal market, following the accident, dried up. They received no dead carcasses. Dr. Weber informs me that the dead carcasses were picked up by the agricultural department, and he was assured of a report on the matter. He is still waiting.

Dr. John Nicholoff, of the Summerdale Lab, was asked about these animals and the results, and he said, "As far as we are concerned, we never received the dead animals." This is the same man who denied the death of the 500 birds at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Gilbert of Annville township.

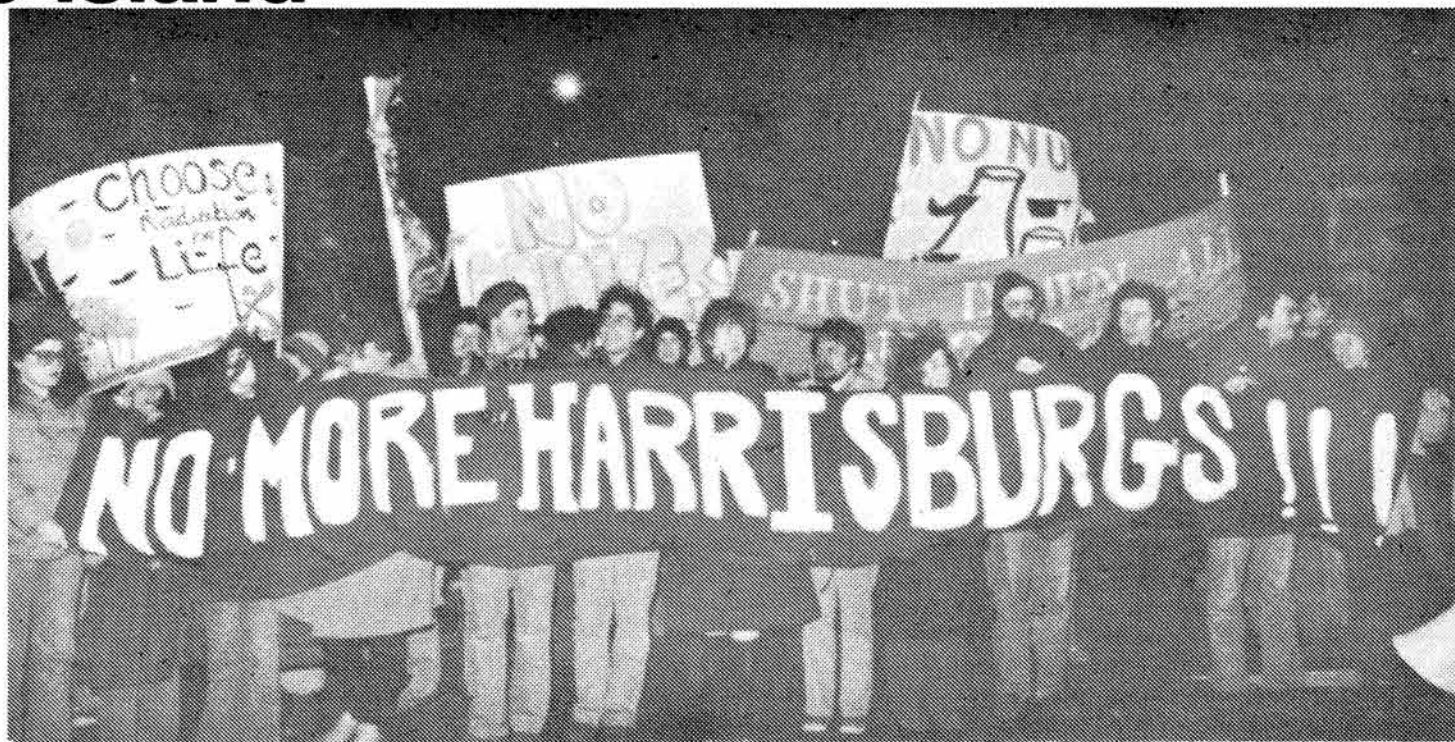
'Oh, those birds'

When an investigative reporter confronted Nicholoff on the question of the birds, he denied any knowledge of any birds dying. "Why, if 500 birds died in this state," he said, "we'd certainly know about it. It would certainly be in the papers. We would certainly tell the governor."

Not only did Nicholoff deny the death of the birds, but also the doctors who signed the autopsy report and even the secretary of agriculture.

The reporter reached back in his hip pocket and pulled out the agricultural department's autopsy report and showed it to Dr. Nicholoff, and Dr. Nicholoff had a sudden memory recall. He said, "Oh, those birds."

Despite the lab's radiological testing of the birds, we were assured that no, the birds did not die from radiation exposure.



Militant/Lou Howort

There is information, however, that reveals how Met Ed employees removed twenty charcoal filters from the vents on April 16, 1979. The removal of those filters without replacement coincided with an increase of radioactive iodine release, registered with the NRC, which allowed for bypass leakage into the atmosphere.

The responses of the NRC biologists and the Argon Lab to the death of the 500 birds was, "It would require a spread over a period of days instead of hours to bring about the death of 500 birds."

Cover-up

The birds died on May 2, fourteen days after the filters were removed. The autopsy report says the birds died from massive internal hemorrhaging. Neither the NRC nor the Argon Lab bothered to check their own files to ascertain if there had been any leakage of radiation at the time.

But then, it wasn't the truth they were looking for, but merely the discreditation of Dr. Weber and the farmers. This was to silence any more discussion on the subject.

I will not be silenced by bureaucratic sycophants, whose sole purpose is to perpetuate their pay checks and nuclear power.

The whitewash on nuclear power began under the Eisenhower administration when he said, "Tell the people anything, just don't tell them the truth about our nuclear testing."

Black babies uncounted

The Health Department of Pennsylvania has still not released the statistics on the infant mortality data of 1979. It is now 1981 and still they procrastinate.

Even without this data, we know for a certainty that the abortions, the stillbirths, the crib deaths, and infant deaths soared for the period of April through September. Statistically, this is the very time of the year when the infant deaths decrease. Instead they increased.

I think there's an interesting statement here too. When they were doing the statistics, they removed all the deaths from the Harrisburg area and mixed them with the state area deaths. And then they took all the Black babies and said, "We can't have them. We can't count the Black children, because they have too high a mortality rate."

It is not bad enough, the dehumanizing they have done to us. They have taken the Black community and wiped them off altogether. Black babies are not even counted.

It will be a long time before we know the degree of the thyroid damage done to children in this area. The learning disabilities and degrees of retardation may not reveal themselves totally until the school year begins for these children.

Some hospitals tested for hyperthy-

roidism, some did not. But none gave 100 percent testing. The damage done to our immunity system, our damaged chromosomes, are multiplying in a submerged environment, only to surface later, revealing another unknown or rare disease or a growing malignancy, which will all reveal themselves in time.

We will become just another experiment by science or just another mortality statistic, like the infants who were "no one."

Labor threatened

Today, major decisions will be made by this gathering that can bring this nation together. The choice you make today will have far-reaching ramifications for this country.

Believe me when I tell you this. Do not think that you are not important. You are at the heart of what can be brought about in this country.

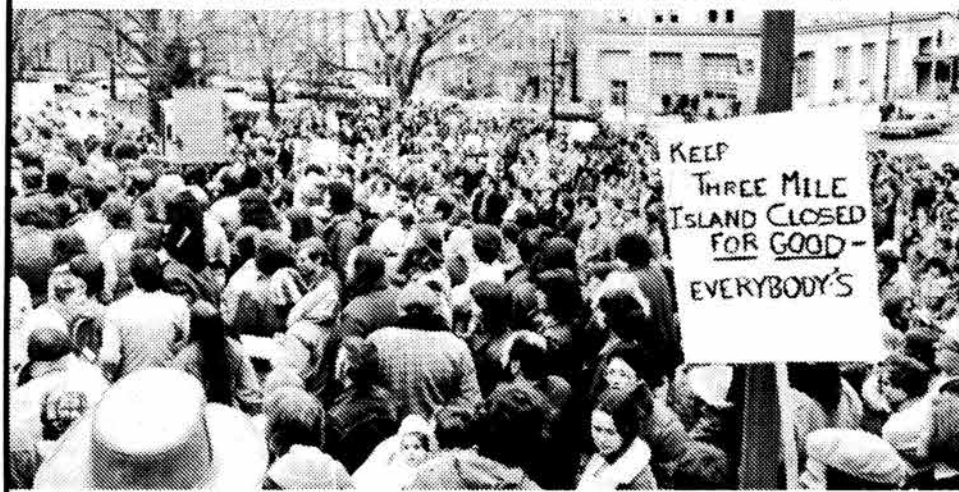
We can do it, but we can do it better with the unions. We are talking about our children, our homes, our futures, and our nation—you and me. Never before has labor been so threatened.

Never before has the nuclear industry been so frightened, and never have they resorted to such fear tactics to divide labor. Our brothers and sisters who are laughingly referred to by the NRC and the nuclear industry as sponges are in the greatest peril of all.

The awful consequences of the future are beyond the scope of our comprehension. We have a responsibility today to create a safe and a brighter future for tomorrow.

Thomas Jefferson said, "Merchants have no country of their own. Wherever they may be, they have no ties with the soil. All they're interested in is the source of their profits. The mere spot they stand on does not constitute so strong an attachment as that upon which they derive their gain."

No more Three Mile Islands!



Demonstrate March 28 in Harrisburg

To demand:

- No more Three Mile Islands! Keep Unit 1 closed! No dumping of radioactive water in the Susquehanna River!
- Support the United Mine Workers of America in their effort to gain a decent contract!
- Jobs for all: a shorter workweek and massive public works program!
- Guaranteed alternative jobs for nuclear workers at union rates!

Initial co-sponsors:

United Mine Workers
International Association of Machinists
United Furniture Workers
International Chemical Workers

United Auto Workers
Critical Mass
Mobilization for Survival
SANE
United States Students Association

For more information: Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, 1536 16 St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. Call (202) 265-7190.

Learning About Socialism

How will alienation be ended?

The 'Militant' received the letter below from a prisoner at Attica penitentiary in New York State.

We asked Héctor Marroquín to answer it. Marroquín is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and a National Committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance. He spent some time as a prisoner also. He was arrested as an undocumented Mexican worker and jailed as part of a government attempt to deport him to Mexico. He is seeking political asylum in the United States because of trumped-up charges against him by the Mexican government.

The reader at Attica wrote:

Greetings,

Marx continuously stresses the seizure of the means of production by the working class; that production would shift to social as opposed to private ownership. But he also noted that with every revolution in society a corresponding revolution in the mode of production transpired.

My questions:

How can an industrial order buttress a truly socialist workers state?

How is the alienation of man/woman mitigated?

Revolution,

Atiim

Héctor Marroquín replies:

The brother is correct in relating all the different questions and points in his letter together.

In fact, the Marxist explanation of history fundamentally rests on the economic development of society. It points out how the modes of exchange and production change with the development of the productive forces and how this brought about the division of society into classes and struggles of these classes against each other. It notes that every revolution in society corresponds to a revolution in the mode of production.

However, the brother states it backwards when he says that Marx "noted that with every revolution in society a corresponding revolution in the mode of production transpired."

It was the changes in production that created the basis for revolutions.

Capitalism is the product of a long course of

development in the means of production and exchange that were generated in the old feudal society and eventually led to its overthrow.

As capitalism developed, the ownership of the means of production was concentrated in fewer and fewer hands. The producer, the worker, was completely separated from the means of production. Workers were forced to sell their labor power, the only commodity they possess, to an individual capitalist. Wage labor was institutionalized.

This process intensified the alienation suffered by working people, who lost control over the means of production and, with it, control over their lives, liberty, and means of development.

Administration and direction of the productive process was concentrated in the hands of the few property owners, the capitalists. Workers were converted into appendages of machinery. Capitalist private property is the source of today's alienation, competition, and individualism.

This alienation cannot be ended under capitalism. Alienation will exist as long as society is organized on the basis of exploitation and oppression of human beings.

With capitalism, large-scale industrial production developed. But capitalism is also anarchic. For the first time in human history there are periodic crises of overproduction. The unplanned economy and the enormous differences in wealth lead to more being produced than people have the ability to buy and still provide a sufficient profit for the capitalist.

The *Communist Manifesto* explains: "Modern bourgeois society with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer, who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells."

Even if, I would add, the sorcerer was aided by finks and stool pigeons like the FBI.

There is overproduction, but the majority of humanity still lives in terrible misery, is undernourished, and lacks education and basic medical care.

Under capitalism, the growing productive capacity, which could otherwise be used for human needs, is geared to the production of sophisticated weaponry. This could destroy human civilization a thousand times over. These weapons are produced

in ever-greater amounts while other big factories are shut down because the boss cannot sell "his" steel, autos, medical instruments, etc. and make "his" profit. Millions are left jobless.

With the development of big industry, capitalism developed, multiplied, welded together, and strengthened its own gravediggers: the industrial workers. In alliance with all other exploited and oppressed people, they can take the direction of society into their own hands and put an end to the present barbaric capitalist oppression and irrationality.

A socialist revolution will pave the way to progress and further development of human civilization.

The problem of capitalism is not that there is large-scale production. The problem is how the production is organized, appropriated, distributed, and used.

This would fundamentally change under socialism. Under a worldwide socialist system, production would be for human needs, not profits. Alienation, in the ever-worsening form in which it exists under capitalism, would be ended.

A socialist revolution would eliminate the contradiction between workers and parasite exploiters, producers, and administrators.

This would begin to lay the basis for the transformation of the nature of labor from a coercive necessity to a social obligation that would benefit society as a whole.

People wouldn't live in constant fear and insecurity. James P. Cannon, a veteran American socialist and one of the founders of the Socialist Workers Party, said: "Under such conditions [capitalism] this 'human nature', which we hear so much about, is like a plant trying to flower in a dark cellar; it really doesn't get much chance to show its true nature, its boundless potentialities. In the socialist society of shared abundance, this nightmare will be lifted from the minds of the people. They will be secure and free from fear; and this will work a revolution in their attitude toward life and their enjoyment of it. Human nature will get a chance to show what it is really made of."

Please send questions you would like to see answered in this column to: Stu Singer, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

The assassination of a 'great African patriot'

On February 12, 1961, the military government of Katanga province in the Congo (now Zaire) announced the brutal murder of Congolese freedom fighter Patrice Lumumba. Despite a concerted cover-up, it soon was clear that the Belgian-controlled government there, in collusion with the U.S.-dominated government in the national capital of Leopoldville (now Kinshasa), had assassinated Lumumba.

Lumumba was the leader of the National Congolese Movement, which had the support of the masses of people fighting Belgian colonial rule. After an independence struggle that left thousands of Congolese dead, the African republic won its independence from Belgium in June 1960. Lumumba, who was elected premier of the Congolese Republic, hailed the end of the "shameful regime of oppression."

Fearing the masses would press far beyond formal independence and challenge foreign control of the Congo's copper, uranium, and other resources, the Belgian government sent in troops.

Then, under the guise of aiding the Congolese people, United Nations "peace keeping" forces were sent in at Washington's urging. The UN troops were used to remove the legal Congolese government.

Lumumba was put under arrest, severely beaten, and, several months later, murdered.

The Congolese freedom fighters were inspired and guided by the victory of the Cuban masses. As well, the Cuban revolutionaries saw the Congolese fight for liberation as their own.

Cuban revolutionary Ernesto Che Guevara expressed the feelings of the Cuban people in a speech before the United Nations in 1964. There he indicted U.S. and Belgian imperialists for their murder of

Lumumba and their continued domination of the Congo nation.

Guevara spoke as a Belgian-U.S. military operation crushed a new upsurge of nationalist resistance. Excerpts from Che's speech follow.

* * *

Once again we raise our voice to put the world on guard against what is happening in South Africa. The brutal policy of apartheid is being carried out before the eyes of the whole world. The peoples of Africa are being compelled to tolerate in that continent the concept, still official, of the superiority of one race over another and in the name of that racial superiority the murder of people with impunity. Can the United Nations do nothing to prevent this?

I should like specifically to refer to the painful case of the Congo, unique in the history of the modern world, which shows how, with absolute impunity, with the most insolent cynicism, the rights of peoples can be flouted. The prodigious wealth of the Congo, which the imperialist nations wish to maintain under their control, is the direct reason for this.

In his speech on his first visit to the United Nations, our comrade Fidel Castro said that the whole problem of coexistence among peoples was reduced to the undue appropriation of another's wealth. He said, "When this philosophy of despoilment disappears, the philosophy of war will have disappeared."

The philosophy of despoilment not only has not ceased, but rather it is stronger than ever, and that is why those who used the name of the United Nations to commit the murder of Lumumba, today, in the name of the defense of the white race, are assassinating thousands of Congolese.

How can one forget how the hope that Patrice Lumumba placed in the United Nations was betrayed? How can one forget the machinations and maneuvers which followed in the wake of the occupation of that country by United Nations troops under whose auspices the assassins of this great African patriot acted with impunity?

The wealth of the Congo is in imperialist hands and the expenses must be paid by honest nations. The merchants of war certainly do good business.

And as if this were not enough, we now have flung in our faces recent events which have filled the world with horror and indignation. Who are the perpetrators? Belgian paratroopers transported by United States planes, who took off from British bases.

But the scales have fallen from our eyes and they now open upon new horizons, and we can see what yesterday, in our conditions of colonial servitude, we could not observe—that "Western civilization" disguises under its showy front a scene of hyenas and jackals. That is the only name that can be applied to those who have gone to fulfill "humanitarian" tasks in the Congo. Bloodthirsty butchers who feed on helpless people! That is what imperialism does to men; that is what marks the "white" imperialists.

The free men of the world must be prepared to avenge the crime committed in the Congo. . . . In this assembly those peoples whose skins are darkened by a different sun, colored by different pigments, constitute the majority, and they fully and clearly understand that the difference between men does not lie in the color of their skins, but in the ownership of the means of production and in the relationship of production.

Letters

Bill Plympton

Workers honor Dr. King

The deep consciousness of Black workers really showed itself on January 15.

While 100,000 people marched in Washington, D.C., demanding Congress pass a law making Martin Luther King's birthday a national holiday, the workers in my plant showed their feelings in another way.

At FMC in Houston, Texas, I participated in an effort to distribute makeshift black armbands in honor of Dr. King. By the end of my shift almost all of the Black workers in the plant, as well as a number of white, Chicano, and Latin American workers, were wearing black armbands.

We passed the idea to second shift and they continued to get many workers wearing black armbands.

The company couldn't do anything as I and others walked throughout the plant distributing armbands for Dr. King. A few days later I petitioned in the plant to make the birthday a holiday and received a good response.

One co-worker took a copy of the petition to get more signatures herself.

Bob Warren
Houston, Texas

Chrysler vote

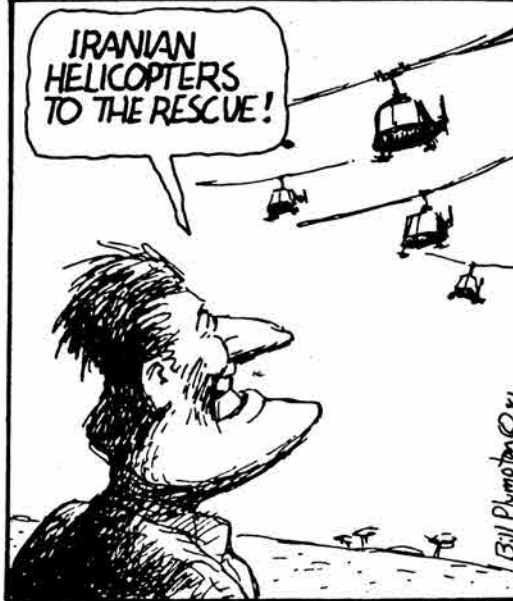
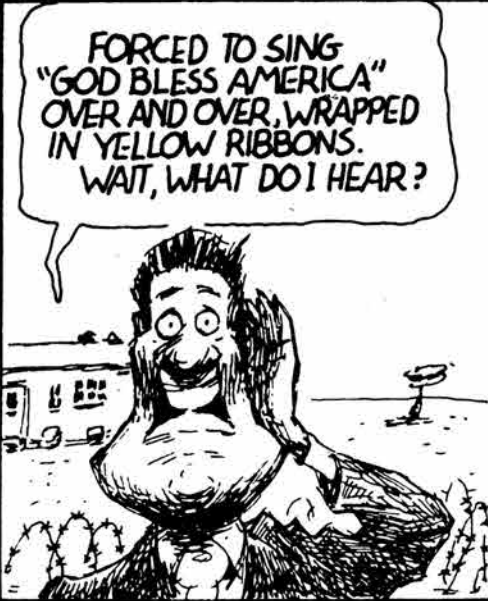
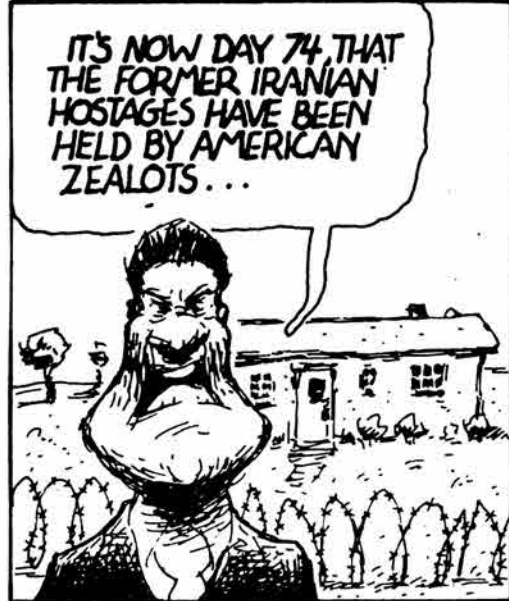
There were five squad cars in front of the union hall this morning. When I walked in, I noticed the mobilization of the flying squadron and ten extra officers on the stage.

It was in this atmosphere that my local union held a special meeting to discuss the upcoming give-away contract.

The president read the agenda, which was thirteen points from the contract concession. The leadership said it was an informational meeting only and we could not ask questions about anything other than what was on the agenda.

We could not offer suggestions on how to fight back. We could not motivate a "no" vote.

Willie Stovall, the international representative, explained each point on COLA, pensions, etc. Then he



Soho News

answered questions from the floor for about an hour.

Workers wanted to know why we could not stop plant closings for more than one year, as the contract states. Another question was what exactly the company means by "worker participation."

Does it mean we can control the line speed and the number of workers on the payroll?

The representative mostly avoided any real answers and told us that we were negotiating with the government, not Chrysler.

He said he would not tell us how to vote, but if we turned down the contract we would be out of a job.

The next day, Monday, the polling trailer was opened and the vote taken. There was a low voter turnout, only 1,171 out of 2,800 workers.

Even with the federal government writing the contract and the local government police enforcing the union meeting, the vote was 70 percent for and 30 percent against.

It seems that with no real choice, workers in Dodge Truck and other locals still voiced opposition.

Joe Allor
Detroit, Michigan

Polish dilemma?

With regard to the Polish dilemma, while agreeing with your approach in its basic points (the Polish people must be given a chance to build socialism according to their

needs which sometimes do not have to coincide with those of the Soviet Union), I want to express my comradely disagreement on a major point.

It is my belief that within the movement for free trade unions and more democracy in Poland, some elements have been able to infiltrate themselves in order to bring about a restoration of capitalism in that country.

I deem Lech Walesa to be an agent provocateur who is, consciously or unconsciously, playing the game of international imperialism in Poland.

Since I am a new reader of the *Militant*, I do not know if (in some previous issue) you've mentioned Walesa's praises for the United States of America and, concretely, his approval of Ronald Reagan's views with regard to détente and our mutual relations with the Socialist world.

It is also extremely important that your readers know about the fact that Walesa has spoken in extremely laudatory terms about Alexander Solzhenitsyn whose ideas about the October Revolution are well known (suffice it to say that in his book *Lenin in Zurich*, Mr. Solzhenitsyn claims that Russia was much better off under the Czarist despotism) and has claimed that "Poland should go back to a market economy" (see *L'Express* of December 13, 1980) while expressing his hope to meet Ronald Reagan when he comes to the USA to visit his step-

father (a well-known reactionary) currently living in Jersey City.

I am the first one to say that the Polish working class is moving in a positive direction and I praise their efforts to perfect the socialist institutions.

But, if elements like Walesa were to prevail, perhaps the countries which integrate the Warsaw Treaty Organization would be forced to intervene in Poland in order to avert a return to capitalism in that heroic nation.

I'm sure that, if the circumstances mentioned above came to conjugate into action, the Polish people would demand some help from the U.S.S.R. and some other countries in the Eastern bloc.

Adrian J. Alpendre
Fairview, New Jersey

Fred Feldman replies:

[The opinions attributed to Lech Walesa by reader Alpendre come primarily from an article by the notorious right-wing columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak.

[It appeared in the December 3 *New York Post*, among other papers.

[In no other interview has Walesa been known to praise Ronald Reagan and advocate a "tough" anticommunist U.S. foreign policy. But these are well known opinions of Evans and Novak.

[Some quotations attributed to Walesa completely contradict his policy of avoiding comment on political questions,

and seeking to reach an agreement with the Polish government on the basis of the just demands of the workers.

[Other quotations are the opposite of what Walesa has said on many occasions. (For instance Evans and Novak have him arrogantly declare, "I created the movement and I shall remain in full control.")

[The interview appeared at a time when the Kremlin was making ominous threats to Poland. Had they decided to invade, the interview could have been cited as a damning piece of evidence against Walesa and the workers' movement.

[These facts alone would make us extremely doubtful that Walesa said all that was attributed to him.

[But in addition, we know that Evans and Novak have a long record of distortion and even outright falsification. During the Vietnam War, they frequently printed articles attributing violent plans to anti-war demonstrators and red-baiting the movement.

[They are not beyond distorting Walesa's views to serve reactionary purposes.

[It is worth noting that the *New York Times* and *Christian Science Monitor* made no reference to the Evans-Novak "scoop" about Walesa's political views.

[And even the *Washington Post*, where the Evans-Novak column originates, did not print it or comment on it.

[Perhaps they too regarded the Evans and Novak interview to be of doubtful authenticity.]

If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Tel: (205) 323-3079. Zip: 35233.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450.

CALIFORNIA: Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 201 N. 9th St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA: Gainesville: YSA, c/o Adam Shedroff, 1118 NW 3rd Ave. Zip: 32601. Miami: SWP, YSA, 1237 NW 119th St. North Miami. Zip: 33167. Tel: (305) 756-8358.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.

INDIANA: Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP,

YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, Box 352. Zip: 50613.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main #102. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, P.O. Box 837. Zip: 01004. Tel: (413) 256-0640. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA. Tel: (313) 663-7068. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 1012 2nd Ave. South, Virginia, Minn. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Schenectady): SWP, YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494.

New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. **New York, Manhattan:** SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. **New York, City-wide:** SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. **Cleveland:** SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. **Toledo:** SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (215) 734-4415. **Philadelphia:** SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. **Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, 1210 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. **State College:** YSA, c/o Bill Donovan,

1240 E. Branch Rd. Zip: 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 1322, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. **Dallas:** SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 806 Elgin St. #1. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 524-8761. **San Antonio:** SWP, YSA, 1406 N. Flores Rd. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 222-8398.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. **Baltimore-Washington District:** 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., NW., Washington, D.C. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7021.

WASHINGTON: Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. Tel: (206) 866-7332. **Seattle:** SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

THE MILITANT

The deadly toll at Three Mile Island

The following talk was delivered by Jane Lee at the planning meeting of the National Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, held in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, January 18. The meeting called the March 28 demonstration in Harrisburg, cosponsored by the United Mine Workers, International Association of Machinists, United Auto Workers, Mobilization for Survival, and others.

Jane Lee is a farmer who lives three and a half miles from Three Mile Island. She has documented the effects of TMI on animal and plant life in the area for the past six years. She will be on a speaking tour in March to build the Harrisburg action. If interested in having her speak in your area, contact: Greater Harrisburg Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, 1037 Maclay Street, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17103; or call (717) 232-0396.

Six years ago, I began researching the subject of nuclear power. For the first three years, I was alone. I was scorned and I was ridiculed by my neighbors and my friends.

Then March 28, 1979, [the Three Mile Island accident] happened. It's incredible what has happened with people. We are growing. It's becoming meaningful, and I have been elated ever since the October 10 Labor Conference for Safe Energy, when the unions began to take an interest. I have not had one depressed moment since that time.

Affect on farm animals

I live on a farm three and a half miles west-northeast of Three Mile Island. This farm has been in the same family for over 200 years. It is federally and state inspected. In 1974 Unit 1 began its operation and by 1976 the farmers—and some who had farmed

for thirty-five to sixty years—began to encounter muscle and bone deficiencies and other health-related symptoms in their animals that were never experienced before.

Steers, less than a year old, were not able to stand up, and dragged their hinds about. Some lasted a month. Some lasted four to six months. Farmers called the state Agricultural Department, but they took no interest.

Many times the lab would ask, "Are you calling from Middletown?" before you even had the chance to tell your location. Curious, is it not? This all occurred before the accident, not after.

Dr. Robert Weber, our vet, was puzzled by the symptoms in the area that at that time were confined to a five-mile radius of the plant.

We know what we saw. No amount of discrediting by the NRC [Nuclear Regulatory Commission] public offi-

cials can ever erase from our minds what we saw and what we experienced.

Stillbirths

Other deficiencies that were encountered were: an increase in stillborns, abortions, respiratory failures, breeding problems. That increased 10 percent on our farm. Constriction of the cervix, which created a high incidence and a high level of caesarian births. Caesarian births are also increasing among humans.

Despite the repeated application of hormones that should dilate the cervix for the delivery of animals, those animals could not dilate. The people who produced the hormone told Dr. Weber, "That's impossible," and of course, you know, that's what I keep getting: "That's impossible."

We discovered cats who would have litters in four different fetal stages: one cat would be alive without fur on it; the next one would be dead with less fur on it; there would be another fetal stage, and then another fetal stage.

Casper the Ghost

Rabbits, many of them born like Casper the Ghost—no ears, no hind-quarters, just tapered down, nothing. Hogs, sows unable to deliver all their young. Farmers not knowing how many she had until she started to swell and the vet would come out and find the remaining piglets in the uterus, gangrenous.



Militant/Suzanne Haig
We can fight nuclear power better with unions, says farmer Jane Lee.

The defoliation of trees was incredible. On our farm, the trees were as naked as trees you see outdoors at the end of October. Flower beds, with the flowers all dead, laying black in the garden.

Sloppy management?

Fruit trees were especially vulnerable. And of course it's all washed away with, "Well, it's elm disease or it's wet worm, or it's this, or it's that." I'm well aware of the diseases of trees. But I have never, ever, seen anything like this.

Continued on page 25

Cleve. Black party: 'No tax hike!'

By Tony Austin

CLEVELAND—"Black people have been tied to the Republicans for sixty-five years and to the Democrats for forty-eight years, and all we've gotten is crumbs. Now it's time for the National Black Independent Political Party."

With these words, C. Daniel Peacock, coordinator of the Cleveland Area NBIPP, opened the party's January 17 public meeting.

Socialist hits tax ripoff

CLEVELAND—Lynda Joyce announced her candidacy for mayor here on the Socialist Workers Party ticket and urged a "no" vote on issue 6, the tax increase measure on the ballot.

"Mayor Voinovich says there's no money for fire protection, emergency medical services, garbage trucks, and other projects desperately needed. We say: Open the books! Let working people see the truth. Make the big corporations pay, not working people."

"At the same time we're asked to pay higher taxes, the city is squandering millions to block desegregation of the schools. I solidarize with the Cleveland Black Party—no to any tax hikes!"

Peacock received an enthusiastic response from the close to fifty people in attendance as he detailed the two-party system's hand-in-glove collusion with the banks and corporations.

"It's time that we had our own party to challenge these decisions and policies. We're giving notice to the Democrats and Republicans that we are no longer going to wait until election day and vote the way they tell us," Peacock concluded.

Darryl Tukufu, president of the Akron chapter of the Black party, and member of the Ohio state coordinating committee, gave a progress report on party-building activities in Akron, and the history of the Black party movement.

Tukufu stated, "The founding convention of the NBIPP was the culmination of a recent series of Black conventions that started in 1972 when over 8,000 Blacks met in Gary, Indiana."

He announced that the second national convention of the Black party will be held August 21-23 in Chicago.

The meeting heard reports and discussion on Black party plans to respond to the escalation of racist violence, reach out to Blacks in the union movement, and form youth, women's, labor, and senior citizens' committees, as proposed at the Philadelphia convention.

A petition demanding that Martin Luther King's birthday be recognized as a national holiday was circulated at the gathering.

The meeting got widespread media



Militant/Salm Kolis
Cleveland Black party leader C. Daniel Peacock.

coverage, including from two television stations; the *Plain Dealer*, Cleveland's major newspaper; WJMO and WABQ, the two radio stations with the area's largest Black audience. Black party leaders have since received invitations to appear on several radio and television talk shows.

The successful public meeting and extensive media coverage have been timely in helping the Black party circulate its public positions on issues in Cleveland politics.

In a new development, Black businessmen and ministers recently held a news conference calling for passage of a special ballot referendum scheduled for January 17. The ballot issue proposes a one-half percent tax hike on the wages of Cleveland workers.

The announcement of this referendum surprised many here because the same ballot measure was soundly defeated last November. It was widely opposed by Blacks.

This endorsement by several prominent Blacks falls in line with the concerted campaign being carried out by Cleveland's Republican mayor, George Voinovich. He and City Council President George Forbes have threatened not to run for reelection if the tax hike fails.

On February 1, the Cleveland Black party was able to respond. Appearing on the WJMO radio talk show, "Black Focus," Black party leader Dana Perry-Cooper outlined the party's reasons for opposing the tax increase.

Reading from a prepared statement, Perry-Cooper stated, "The Black community cannot take on any more taxation on our already low incomes. We are paying more and receiving less."

Responding to the Voinovich administration's threat that cutbacks will result if the tax issue fails, Perry-Cooper pointed out that cutbacks have already begun.

"So there is no guarantee that another half percent for the city income tax will provide even the same services, let alone more," she said. "This we do know: that the Black community, which can least afford it, will pay, and the banks and the corporations will not."

Perry-Cooper added, "The threat to lay off police means nothing to the

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